

INFLUENCE OF THE TROJAN MYTH ON NATIONAL IDENTITY
AS SHAPED IN THE FRANKISH AND BRITISH TROJAN-ORIGIN MYTHS
AND THE ROMAN DE BRUT AND THE ROMAN DE TROIE

By

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The Trojan myth composed in the Iliad by Homer constitutes the tale of a splendid and celebrated city under siege, whose monarchy derives its strength and prestige from a long distinguished ancestry, whose aristocratic population conducts itself in a hospitable and humane fashion, and whose heroes generate military prowess and strive to bring honor to themselves and their noble lineage. The appealing attitudes and activities of the Homeric Trojans inspired medieval authors to engage them as an integral part of a "national" identity illustrated in origin myths and reworkings of the Iliad itself. Not pertaining to or involving the common people; these works were learned fictions written to enhance the prestige of the ruling classes by providing an ancient and illustrious ancestry that legitimized ascendancy and/or a code of conduct.

Chapter 1 defines the ancient and enduring Trojan myth. Chapter 2 introduces Trojan-origin myths of the Franks and the British and undertakes to explain why they were written during a specific period. Chapter 3 presents the "national" ideology of chivalry and courtoisie embodied in the Roman de Brut and especially in Benoît de Sainte-Maure's Roman de Troie.

Along with martial and royal characteristics, instances of "national" identity featured in the Frankish and British Trojan-origin myths came about during a comingling of cultures at the same time as an age of relative peace, strong leadership, and a renewal of learning favored the creation of each unique myth and "nation." The Roman de Troie provided a "nation" of Anglo-Norman and Angevin elite with an identity of chivalric/courtois values to correspond to their glorious ancestors. Whether the "nations" were related by blood ties or by a common heritage, or a combination of the two, they could identify with a once-great race and its tradition.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Troy and the Trojans are special by virtue of literature. The Troy of Homer is consecrated ground considering its affiliation "with the earliest portion of the literary treasures bequeathed to us by the ancient world" (Maclaren 222). Moreover, the fall of Troy is "le grand événement de l'histoire universelle" (Baumgartner, Entre fiction et histoire 19), for nearly all of the Late Latin chroniclers recorded it. The Aeneid and subsequent medieval Trojan-origin myths and reworkings of the Iliad were the consequence of the imaginations of countless generations. The tale of Troy, showing a city under siege, along with its heroes, its valor facing a superior force, its humanity, and its splendor, influenced a constant revival of glorious Troy in myth and literature.

The Iliad's Troy was shown to be splendid in addition to being named "sacred" by Homer. It was a "broad city," with "wide streets." It had "lofty gates" and "fine towers." During the reign of Priam, it was in its stage of greatest vigor. It was a city with mighty walls, extensive enough to hold its own large population as well as its many allies who gathered there to do battle with the Greeks. From the literary description of the city, some scholars have calculated that more than 50,000 people could be accommodated (Blegen 13). It had an agora where the people of

the city met, which was located in the upper city near the magnificent palace of Priam, which Blegen describes along with the other royal residences:

This building itself was of huge size: in addition to the halls of state, provided with porticoes built of well-fitted hewn stones, and the king's private apartments, it contained 50 chambers, with walls of smoothly worked blocks, where Priam's sons lived with their wedded wives. There were, moreover, apparently beyond a court, 12 further rooms—built of well-dressed stone and roofed—for the king's daughters and their husbands. Other palaces, too, stood close at hand, among them the many-roomed abode of Hector, a 'comfortable place to live in' with its spacious halls. Near-by stood the beautiful home in which Alexander, or Paris, lived with the lovely Helen. He himself had built it, employing the very best builders and craftsmen to be found in Troy. (13)

As for the public buildings located high in the "holy Pergamos," there were the temples of Apollo and Athena, chief protectors of Troy. A council chamber may also have been located there, as "Hector speaks to elders and councillors, who presumably had a covered meeting-place of some kind" (Blegen 14).

Why did Homer compose an epic poem about this particular locale, whose heroes and destruction will be forever recalled and recreated? Possibly the ancient Greeks who emigrated to Ionia in Asia Minor brought a tale of the Trojan War with them, keeping it alive as a means of establishing a link with their homeland. Perhaps the legend of a catastrophic war with the Greeks during the heroic age 400 to 500 years earlier was embellished and perpetuated by the native population of the Troad, a region of northwestern Asia Minor surrounding ancient Troy, in order to identify with fallen heroes.

Local myths and legends had been preserved at the Bronze Age strongholds throughout Greece and Asia Minor which furnished names for the heroes of oral tradition. The ruling classes linked their families with the genealogies of epic heroes, notably from the Trojan War, in order to enhance their status and prestige. An aristocratic family, the Aeneadae, from the vicinity of ancient Troy, traced their ancestry back to Aeneas, thus possibly influencing his prominence in the *Iliad* (Graf 129).

It was the Trojan myth above all that supplied the ancestral link for the Greek nation of Homer's era, the eighth century BC, with the heroic Bronze Age. By the enhancement of one's lineage, a race has a rational way of including a golden age in its background. A portrait of ancestors establishes a continuity of the present with the past. When the gap between the mythical past and the historical present is bridged, myth becomes reality (Graf 129).

Myth in the form of epic tales answered questions about the past, thus presuming a keen desire for historical knowledge. To the Greeks the Trojan myth was unquestioned history that "told of a Panhellenic expedition against non-Hellenic peoples, and it offered an explanation for the passing of the heroic age" (Graf 78). Various cultures in subsequent eras also found that reviving through myth the nobility and spirit of a romanticized past offered a means of enlightenment. The essence of myth is its adaptability to fit the needs and imaginations of any audience in any generation.

Myths bind men together into a society, for they maintain and strengthen a mutual value system. Because they represent an organizing principle, myths act as a civilizing force. As mutually shared tales, they enhance a common heritage, thus encouraging a melding of peoples and nations. However, throughout history a Trojan heritage was generally reserved for the aristocracy, who claimed to make up a "nation" connected by blood ties.

The Trojan-origin myths enclosed in the Aeneid and chronicles and narratives from the Middle Ages are learned fictions rather than grass-roots traditions that evolved among the common people by means of bards down through the ages. The myths heightened the prestige of the nobility by providing an ancient and illustrious ancestry that justified ascendancy. Trojan myths of origin established belief systems, or ideologies, for the Romans, Franks, Britons, and Anglo-Normans by providing a moral validation for their attitudes and activities.

Although certain martial and royal characteristics are inherent in all of the origin myths, each myth is unique to the culture and the age. The Iliad initiated the tradition of Trojans as heroic warriors, builders and defenders of a glorious and sacred city, descendants of the gods, and star-crossed exiles whose brilliant and humane culture was cruelly and treacherously destroyed after 10 years of war. The Aeneid, with "its point of departure, both in matter and form, [being] Homer" (Curtius 36), added the feature of Trojans as imperialists and responsible guardians of

the state and the gods. The Frankish origin myths, no doubt influenced by the Aeneid, which was included in the curriculum of every medieval schoolboy, emphasized a fierce independence. The British origin myths underscored a warlike spirit and strong kings, but stressed a further concept of the Aeneid, Trojans as transmitters of culture and imperialism, the translatio studii et imperii topos.

Composed during a rebirth of learning in the twelfth century, Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae and Wace's Roman de Brut, a reworking of the Historia in the vernacular French, or romanz, exercise the Trojan-origin myth in a story of the genealogy of the kings of Britain dating back to Aeneas. The most celebrated is the chivalrous and courtois King Arthur, who amasses extensive dominions and presides over a magnificent court. Geoffrey's Historia supported racial and dynastic aspirations in England for over 500 years, until the need for the rise of a Germanic-origin myth in the sixteenth century (MacDougall 2, 12). The Trojan-origin myth, stressing achievements of kings, no longer served the dominant groups (MacDougall 24).

Benoît de Sainte-Maure's Roman de Troie, the last of the trio of romans antiques, stories shaped from la matière antique written in romanz, constitutes a version of the Trojan myth that describes the ideology of the chivalric/courtois code for the elite of France and England. This liberal adaptation of the Iliad provided a practical history lesson in ethical values and refinement for a twelfth-century aristocratic

audience. The lessons, a study of military prowess, honor, affluence and generosity, courtesy, eloquence, and courtly love, furnished examples of expected behavior and beliefs to those who wished to mitigate violence and to sanction courtly manners.

Aristocracy in twelfth-century France and England was like a nation, in that it was a distinct class, essentially closed, and dependent on the preservation of its patrimony and lineage. It was the "nation" of Trojan descendants for whom the Troie was composed, this "nation" who lived by its own ideology of chivalric and courtois manners.

A national identity reflects a common cultural heritage and shared expectations. Because the Trojan myth encompasses an ideology that many societies claimed to have inherited, it helped to form "nations" related by blood ties and/or culture. The tale of Troy throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages encouraged "nations" to identify with a once-great race and its tradition—its honor, its warlike virtues, its pride in divine or heroic ancestors, its ideology of king as symbol for political unity, and its governing principle to safeguard and bequeath the patrimony passed on from earlier generations.

The memory of Troy survived because of the Iliad. "It is not Troy which sheds glory upon Homer, but Homer and the epic tradition upon Troy" (Young 10). Predicated on myth, the Iliad and subsequent tales of Troy were modified to correspond to the unique circumstances of every audience. Because the influence of myth and of its related ideology lies

not in its objective truth but in its being perceived as true (MacDougall 3), Rome, France, and Britain looked to Troy for wisdom and inspiration. The resultant epics, origin myths, and romans revived the memory of Troy that Homer first etched on man's mind.

CHAPTER 2 TROIJAN MYTH

Sacred Troy

The principal reason given for the sanctity of Troy in the Iliad is the elaboration of the genealogy of its founders. In this great mythical epic of the Greek nation, "the most famous story of the Western world" (Tuchman 36), Homer relates how the "dearest progeny of all-powerful Zeus" founded a colony in the Troad that preceded the legendary city of Troy. It is Aeneas who chronicles the race of Troy:

First of all Zeus who gathers the clouds had a son, Dardanos
who founded Dardania, since there was yet no sacred Ilion
made a city in the plain to be a centre of peoples,
but they lived yet in the underhills of Ida with all her waters.
(20.215-18)⁸

Dardania is established to lead human beings away from nature's randomness to the stability of civilization. The polis as a civilizing force is an enclosure nurturing life and sheltering a community of men, women and children. It has a sacred essence because of its "spirit of enclosure and the conferring of a human identity, . . . the reasons Zeus initiates its creation" (Scully, Homer and the Sacred City 25).

The city of Troy is also considered a model of civilization in the twelfth-century Roman de Troie, not only because it is an enclosed space

⁸ All quotations from the Iliad are taken from Richard Lattimore's 1951 translation, entitled The Iliad of Homer.

which sustains life, but because it is a place of unconstrained power, creation, and beauty. It "apparaît comme le lieu où s'épanouissent les fonctions du savoir, de la prouesse et de la richesse . . ." (Croizy-Naquet 18). Although it recalls "tous les éléments stéréotypés de la ville, murs, portes, tours infranchissables, matériaux solides et précieux" (Croizy-Naquet 368), the novel likens Troy to the courtois woman, who represents "la ville comme lieu de raffinement et de fécondité" (Croizy-Naquet 423).

The Iliad's Aeneas, whose destiny it is to survive the Trojan War, "that the generation of Dardanos shall not die" (20.303), continues his enumeration of those rulers of the Troad who traced their ancestry back to Zeus:

Dardanos in turn had a son, the king, Erichthonios, who became the richest of mortal men, and in his possession were three thousand horses who pastured along the low grasslands. (20.219-21)

To Erichthonios was born Tros, who became lord of the Trojans, breakers of horses; and to Tros was born noble Ilos; who begat Laomedon; who had in turn Priam, the father of "Hector the brilliant." Aeneas, as son of Anchises, great-grandson of Tros, is a member of the royal clan.

Legendary kings of the Troad were eponyms of the areas that they ruled, thus Dardania, Troy, and Ilios, inhabitants being known as Dardanians, Trojans, Ilions, or even Teucrians, as Teucer was an indigenous king of the Troad.

The city of Troy itself bore two different names. In the Iliad Troy and Ilios are used interchangeably. "Troy was perhaps originally the more general name, applying to the whole countryside—the Troad—while Ilios more specifically designated the actual city," (Blegen 16).

Troy, or Ilios, was founded by Ilos, and its walls described in the Iliad were built during the reign of Laomedon, at the request of Zeus. Poseidon relates that he and Apollo built the wall "with our hard work for the hero Laomedon's city" (7.453). Later he claims that he alone "built a wall for the Trojans about their city, wide and very splendid, so no one could break into their city," while Apollo herded Laomedon's cattle "along the spurs of Ida with all her folds and her forests" (21.446-49).

The historical Trojans of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC were likewise found to be great builders. Regarding the Middle Bronze Age citadel of Troy, the archaeologist Carl Blegen relates that "the imposing fortifications that now rise display increased knowledge of military engineering together with technical advances in masonry" (111).

In the Iliad, the high, white towers of Poseidon's wall overlooked the large and beautiful plain of Troy and the river Scamander, which flowed down through the foothills of Mount Ida. Likewise, in modern times, "the summit of Ida commands one of the noblest landscapes in the Levant, and was worthy of the distinction it enjoyed as an earthly throne of Jupiter," writes Charles Maclaren (19), a Scottish topographer who visited the Troad in 1847. He offers a delightful image of the

fountainhead of the Scamander, located at the base of Mount Ida:

Instead of collecting its water like other rivers from obscure, feeble and scattered sources, it bursts out at once into day in a magnificent cascade, clear as crystal, issuing forth in mystery and sublimity from a deep cavern in the hidden recesses of the mountain, amidst thundering echoes, and encompassed scenery of extraordinary beauty and grandeur. (24)

Maclaren paints a picture of the Troad that resembles a locus amoenus. Homer as well imagines the Troad an earthly paradise, especially before the advent of war. Ernst Robert Curtius, in European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, remarks that Homer's ideal landscape was pleasant and friendly, often a dwelling place for the gods; it includes "a cluster of trees, a grove with springs and lush meadows . . . [a] carpet of flowers," (185-86).

In one vision of the locus amoenus Homer describes the appearance on the peaks of Ida of a perpetual spring beautiful with a carpet of flowers as Zeus and Hera embrace in a golden wonderful cloud: " . . . There / underneath them the divine earth broke into young, fresh / grass, and into dewy clover, crocus and hyacinth / so thick and soft it held the hard ground deep away from them" (14.347-49).

Additional glimpses of the Troad's landscape offer a less attractive sight after the onset of hostilities. The Iliad describes the lush grasslands and the flowing rivers along with the various species of trees as the destructive elements of war are happening around them:

. . . the multitudinous tribes from the ships and
shelters poured to the plain of the Skamandros, and the earth
beneath their
feet and under the feet of their horses thundered horribly.

They took position in the blossoming meadow of Skamandros,

...

And the horses standing each beside his chariot,
champed their clover and the parsley that grows in wet places.

...

The elms burned, the willows and tamarisks,
the clover burned and the rushes and galingale, all those
plants that grew in abundance by the lovely stream of the river.
(2.464-68, 2.775-76, 21.350-52)

Springs located just beyond the wall of the city of Troy, however, do not impart a locus amoenus. Instead, they symbolize "that liminal space between human and natural order" (Scully, Homer and the Sacred City 13). They are consigned to the city but are of nature. Their depiction by Homer as both terrible war and refreshing peace aptly comes while Hector and Achilles meet in final combat:

They raced along by the watching point and the windy fig tree
always away from under the Trojan wall and along the wagon-way
And came to the two sweet-running well springs. There there are
double

springs of water that jet up, the springs of the whirling
Skamandros.

One of these runs hot water and the steam on all sides
of it rises as if from a fire that was burning inside it.
But the other in the summer-time runs water that is like hail
or chill snow or ice that forms from water. Beside these
in this place, and close to them, are the washing-hollows
of stone, and magnificent, where the wives of the Trojans and their
lovely

daughters washed the clothes to shining, in the old days

...

when there was peace, before the coming of the sons of the
Achaians. (22.145-56)

"Mount Ida of the springs" afforded also a sacredness to the Troad, as its summit, known as Gargaron, was holy ground, with an altar and a priest. The Iliad relates how from this spot Father Zeus watched over Greek and Trojan alike:

He came to Ida with all her springs, the mother of wild beasts,
 to Gargaron, where was his holy ground and his smoking altar.
 There the father of gods and of mortals halted his horses,
 and slipped them from their harness, and drifted close mist about
 them,
 and himself rejoicing in the pride of his strength sat down on the
 mountain
 looking out over the city of Troy and the ships of the Achaeans.
 (8.47-52)

By its gushing forth from the very foot of Zeus' throne, the river Scamander, whose god the Olympians called Xanthus, was believed to have an ancient sacredness. Homer stresses its sanctity by describing it as the "whirling Xanthos, whose father was Zeus the immortal" (14.433-34). It was worshipped with sacrifices, its priest being brilliant Hypsenor. A man of no small importance, he "was honoured about the countryside as a god is" (5.79).

As Ida and the Scamander were considered sacred, so indeed was the city of Troy. One of Homer's favorite epithets for it was "sacred Ilios." The foundation of its sanctity was not only the distinguished genealogy of its rulers and its site on the plain commanded by Mount Ida, source of the river Scamander, but also its divine walls built by Apollo and Poseidon.

The sanctity of Troy was derived less from its location than from its enclosure of civilized society within a divinely-built wall, from "its union of temples and sacred agora" (Scully, Homer and the Sacred City 16), and from its divine protection. The agora in the Iliad was considered sacred, for Homer calls it the "sacred circle" where "the elders / were in session on benches of polished stone . . ." (18.503-04). Although Homer

claims other cities as sacred, Zeus himself states that "for of all the cities beneath the sun and the starry heaven / dwelt in by men who live upon the earth, there has never been one / honoured nearer to my heart than sacred Ilion" (4.44-46).

Hoping that the armed maiden Athena, Troy's foremost tutelary deity, would come to the defense of the city's women and children against the onslaught of Diomedes, Hector counsels the Trojan women to take a sacrifice of the finest robe from the storerooms. The *Iliad* recounts the unfortunate consequence:

When these had come to Athene's temple of the peak of the citadel, Theano of the fair cheeks opened the door for them, daughter of Kisseus, and wife of Antenor, breaker of horses, she whom the Trojans had established to be Athene's priestess. With a wailing cry all lifted up their hands to Athene, and Theano of the fair cheeks taking up the robe laid it along the knees of Athene the lovely haired, and praying she supplicated the daughter of powerful Zeus.

. . .
She spoke in prayer, but Pallas Athene turned her head from her. (6.297-304, 311)

Pallas Athena rejected the plea of the Trojan women, a circumstance brought on no doubt by her having been snubbed in favor of Aphrodite in the Judgment of Paris. Athena, along with Zeus, refuses to come to the aid of "sacred Ilion," and in fact helps to bring about its fall, as Troy, embracing the inherent fault of a city "to sustain life and remain a part of the ongoing cycle," fails to recognize and accept its own mortality (Scully, "The Polis in Homer" 24). Arrogance, such as dismissing the possible consequences of the abduction of Helen and of

her marriage to Paris, largely causes the destruction of Troy in the Roman de Troie. "... La chute de Troie ... s'explique logiquement par la transgression d'un ordre établi, par un orgueil démesuré ..." (Croizy-Naquet 389).

The Palladium was one more example of Trojan sanctity. A statue of Pallas Athena, made of wood "about four and a half feet in height," the Palladium had a place of honor in the Pergamum (Tripp 441). In myth palladia were objects made by the gods and flung from heaven. The Palladium, a gift from Zeus to Ilos, who in turn had a temple built for it, became the symbol of Troy's continuance and the source of its strength.

In two epics from the Trojan Cycle, the Little Iliad and the Sack of Ilium, Odysseus and Diomedes steal the sacred statue in order that the city might fall. In Ovid's Metamorphoses, it is Odysseus who seizes the Palladium and boasts that "illa nocte mihi Troiae victoria parta est; / Pergama tunc vici, cum vinci posse coegi" (2: 13.348-49), [on that night I gained the victory over Troy; at that moment did I conquer Pergama when I made it possible to conquer her] (2: 253). Another Roman legend reveals that the sacred image, presently secure in the temple of Vesta, was rescued by Aeneas on fleeing Troy (Tripp 441). Colette Beaune states that "[le palladium] signifiait le transfert des empires" (48).

The extraordinary sanctity attributed to the Palladium and to Athena as defender of Troy was recognized by generations of ancients who came after Homer. Herodotus writes in his History of the reaction of

Xerxes, king of Persia, when he and his army reached the Scamander in 480 BC on their way to attack Greece:

Xerxes had a strong desire to see Troy, the ancient city of Priam. Accordingly he went up into the citadel, and when he had seen what he wanted to see and heard the story of the place from the people there, he sacrificed a thousand oxen to the Trojan Athene. . . (460)

Alexander the Great, who "carried the Iliad about with him in a jewelled casket" (Grant 51), also displayed his belief in the sanctity of Troy, due in part to Athena. Arrian, author of an Anabasis of Alexander in the second century AD, writes of Alexander's conviction:

He then went up to Troy, and sacrificed to the Trojan Athena, dedicated his full armour in the temple, and took down in its place some of the dedicated arms yet remaining from the Trojan war, which it is said, the hypaspist henceforth used to carry before him into battle. (51)

Ovid acknowledged the sanctity of the Palladium in the Fasti:

moenia Dardanides nuper nova fecerat Ilus
 (Ilus adhuc Asiae dives habebat opes):
 creditur armiferae signum caeleste Minervae
 urbis in Iliacae desiluisse iuga.
 cura videre fuit, vidi templumque locumque:
 hoc superest illac, Pallada Roma tenet. (6.419-24)

[Ilus, descendant of Dardanus, had lately founded a new city (Ilus was still rich and possessed the wealth of Asia); a celestial image of armed Minerva is believed to have leaped down on the hills of the Ilian city. (I was anxious to see it: I saw the temple and place; that is all that is left there; the image of Pallas is in Rome.)] (350-51)

While fashioning Rome as the new daughter of Troy, Virgil's Aeneid makes sanctity one of the prominent features of transference. This transmission, or translatio, did not come from the Palladium, however, but rather it came primarily by means of the household gods carried out

of the burning city by Aeneas and Anchises. The total action of the Aeneid "moves with the household gods of Priam, from Troy to New Troy" (Frye 318).

By the reign of Augustus, Aeneas had become the prototype for the Trojans, affirms Karl Galinsky in Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome (3). "His pietas was that quality for which he was known best and which came to overshadow all his other traits" (4). The legend of Aeneas reflected on the overall Trojan legend, as the Romans saw the piety and sense of duty shown by Aeneas toward family and the gods as trademarks of the typical Trojan warrior, whose familial duty it had been to fight for the defense of the sacred city of Troy. Because Aeneas is the exemplary Trojan, he becomes the embodiment of all Trojans (Graf 54).

Trojan Cycle

The Trojan myth has been preserved and recreated by literature. Because of the imaginative genius of Homer, the legacy of a primitive, heroic period reached its culmination. The Iliad and the Odyssey, although the earliest literature of ancient Greece, are considered masterpieces. They were viewed not only as chronicles of important historical events and heroes, but also as a guide to morality. "The Greeks regarded Homer as their teacher par excellence" (Graf 62). His works comprised lessons in heroism and patriotism, hospitality and love of family, wisdom and personal honor. People took the performance of heroes such as Agamemnon, Diomedes, Odysseus, Achilles, and Hector "as a guide to the proper demeanour in analogous situations" (Kirk 290).

The Iliad and the Odyssey were succeeded by other heroic poems, which evolved into the Trojan, or Epic, Cycle. These post-Homeric legends, composed from the eighth to the sixth century BC, were integral parts of the Homeric tradition, as they filled in the gaps left by the Iliad and the Odyssey and completed the cycle of events that made up the heroic age.

The works of the cyclic poets have come down to us "in a summary made by Proclus in the second century AD [and] preserved by the Byzantine scholar Photius in the ninth century AD" (Scherer 219). These works greatly enhanced the scope of the Trojan legend, thus providing succeeding generations of artists a treasure trove of source material. The lyric poets and great tragedians of ancient Greece also took up Trojan themes and were included in the Homeric tradition.

The next six works, along with their poets, constitute the Trojan Cycle: the Cypria, named for Cyprus, home of its supposed author, Stasinus, provides an introduction to the Iliad, which combines the events from the wedding of Peleus and Thetis to the Trojan War, including the Judgment of Paris; the Aethiopis and the Sack of Ilium ascribed to Arctinus of Miletus, the Little Iliad, attributed to Lesches of Lesbos, and the Nostoi, or 'Returns', take in the events that occur from the end of the Iliad to the beginning of the Odyssey, including the death of Achilles, the destruction of Troy, and the fortunes of the heroes on their return home after the war; the Telegonia, a late cyclic epic, ascribed to Eugammon of

Cyrene in the sixth century BC, relates the death of Odysseus at the hands of Telegonus, his son by Circe.

The notion of greatness throughout the ages of the legend of Troy does not depend on any correlation to historical reality. "[It] lies rather in the beauty and the variety it has called out of the creative imaginations of artists, from Homer down to modern times" (Young 1). Barbara Tuchman claims that "all of human experience is in the tale of Troy" (36). Its scope being too vast to be exhausted in one version or form, numerous artists have had the opportunity to illuminate its brilliance. Margaret Scherer lists at least 80 known authors, from Homer to the tenth century AD, who formulated literature about the Trojan War, and submits an additional 114 well-known authors and musicians who composed works about Troy from the twelfth century AD to the present day. She offers an extensive selection of works of art that depict Trojan themes, including tapestries, vases, enamels, ivories, manuscripts, paintings, sculptures, which are extant today.

Bronze Age Source

Legends that contributed to the epics of Homer and the cyclic poets were developed under conditions that did not encourage a unity of tradition. It was during the Greek Dark Ages, the twelfth to the ninth centuries BC, a time of small tribal units and warrior aristocracies, that the tales of the heroes of the Trojan War first evolved. This chaotic era comprised the aftermath of the disintegration of the great cities of the Mycenaean Age which had been highly centralized and bureaucratic

societies governed by kings (Scully, Homer and the Sacred City 2). It was during this period that bards refined the story of the fall of Troy.

The Dark Ages of Greece, not unlike the Dark Ages of western Europe, was a bleak period of limited communication, decreased material prosperity, and few illustrations of writing and the fine arts. Because men nostalgically envisaged an ideal, heroic past, epic poems drawing upon legendary subject matter, especially from the Mycenaean civilization, were composed and sung.

The militarist palace culture of the Mycenaean Age, which poets romantically interpreted, was at its height from 1450 to 1200 BC. Agamemnon of the Iliad was likened to the historical king of Mycenae. Homer showed him to be "the most powerful king in Greece, and he wielded some sort of loose overlordship over the other independent kings of mainland Greece, Crete, and some of the islands" (Michael Wood 128).

Greek rulers of the ancient fortress cities, such as Tiryns, Pylos, Corinth, Thebes, Athens, and Mycenae, shared a common language and a common culture. They were the leaders of the expedition against Troy. The Trojan War was one of the last great ventures of the Mycenaean Greeks, known historically, as well as in literature, as Achaeans, Danaans, or Argives, their eponyms being traditional rulers in the Peloponnesus.

Legends of events and warriors of the Late Bronze Age heroic culture, in which the Mycenaean Age fit, were transmitted in an oral

tradition from bard to bard down through the generations. Oral tradition causes tales to be changed in the telling; they are "told and retold, reshaped and refitted to meet their audience's changing needs" (Erdoes xi). Near the end of the oral tradition, with the revival of towns and historical memory, in the eighth century BC, Homer, living in an Ionian colony on the western edge of Asia Minor, shaped the Iliad and the Odyssey. Although the exploits are mythical, the names of the great warriors are traceable to the Mycenaean age (Grant 29).

G.S. Kirk calls Homer "a crucial if ambiguous figure in the transmission of myths" (95). He explains a portion of the uncertainty surrounding the poet that we know as Homer:

He stands at the very beginning of western literary history . . . , and as a person we know very little about him; but then neither did the classical Greeks themselves. He lived across the Aegean, somewhere in Ionia, . . . probably during the middle and latter part of the eighth century B.C. . . . Whether the composer of the Iliad was also responsible for the Odyssey has been debated from antiquity and is perhaps no longer very important. What matters is that both poems, despite minor differences, are alike in background, language and heroic values, and that they make equally heavy use of traditional narrative derived from earlier singers. (95-96).

The Iliad and the Odyssey are a mythical, imaginative depiction of the Mycenaean age, while at the same time they are filled with figures that are "historicizing if not actually historical" (Kirk 96-97). Whether the important political characters like Agamemnon and Priam were in origin actual people is uncertain, nevertheless they were historically based (Kirk 96).

Myth vis-à-vis Legend

A traditional tale grounded in history is generally called a legend, while one that has no historic basis is designated a myth. Therefore, the Troy Tale may be determined as either myth or legend. Fritz Graf defines myth as a traditional tale that "makes a valid statement . . . about everything on which human existence depends" (3) and has close ties to the value system of a society (55). The Trojan myth, as exemplified by the Iliad, afforded a moral beacon to the Greek people, thus serving as an ideology and a civilizing force.

Although myths and legends, as transmitted tradition, are shaped to fit the audience, the poet's freedom to alter them is limited. By the time that Homer was composing his epics, the celebrated story of Troy contained certain fixed events to which tradition had given the authority of fact. Historical legends enabled Homer to select alleged facts from the past that were usable in the present. "The legend, by acquiring poetic and narrative form, hardly loses historical significance. On the contrary, it takes on increased historical value" (Uitti 67). The Iliad grew into a national epic that bound men together into a society by enhancing a common heritage and mythology.

Similar to the Iliad, the legend of Troy narrated in the Roman de Troie in the twelfth century was adapted to suit its audience and made to adhere to certain fixed events inherited from earlier tales. Episodes of courtly love and other courtois themes are inserted within an epic

leitmotif of war and of heroic warriors dying for the cause of national loyalty. Emmanuèle Baumgartner, drawing on the Troie's series of 23 battles, describes a characteristic scene of action:

[Benoît] met en place tout un rituel de la bataille, évoquant inlassablement le déferlement radieux des corps d'armée au matin des combats, le flamboiement splendide des armes et des enseignes, les horreurs de la mêlée, du carnage anonyme, l'acharnement des combats, la plaine jonchée, le soir, de morts et d'agonisants et le temps des trêves où fument interminablement les bûchers. (Le Roman de Troie 12)

Besides his transmission of the savage grandeur of war, Benoît de Sainte-Maure conveys the fervor of duty to one's people, or "nation." On both sides in the Troie, "'nation' est . . . synonyme de naissance dans le sens d'extraction, rang, famille, race" (Kelly 56). In his comparison of the Iliad to the earliest French chansons de gestes, Louis Petit de Julleville could have taken into account the Roman de Troie:

La douleur et la mort occupent une large place, la force physique y est en gloire, . . . la religion pénètre, . . . mais ce qui domine et échauffe toute cette poésie des âges simples, c'est l'esprit national. . . . Il faut un peuple . . . qui meure volontiers pour sa défense ou pour sa gloire. (50-51)

In the Iliad as well as in the Troie a spirit of nationalism pervades both the Greek and the Trojan camps, but whereas Benoît underscores the importance of bloodlines, Homer emphasizes that each side embraces its own distinctive type of nation.

Greek "Nation" versus Trojan "Nation"

The legend of the Trojan War as played out in the Iliad was considered by the Greeks to be a chronicle of their nation. The term

'nation', in this instance, denotes a group of people who share a history that leads to common customs and a common spirit and a desire to live together. In the *Iliad* the Achaeans belong to this kind of nation. They distinguish themselves from the Trojans because they have a common language and they form an organic coalition of states. "Because Greek is their common language, the units of the Achaean army form . . . a kosmos, an 'ordering' of tribes and [clans]" (Mackie 19). An element of their unity is evidenced by the following action: "But the Achaian men went silently, breathing valour, / stubbornly minded each in his heart to stand by the others" (3.8-9). The Achaeans give their lives for the nation.

The Trojan army, on the other hand, is a disparate group of allies who come together to defend Priam's Troy. Homer's lines of verse, "the Trojans came on with clamour and shouting, like wildfowl, / as when the clamour of cranes goes high to the heavens" (3.2-3), show the Trojans' lack of cohesion. Because they cry out in varied dialects, "the Trojans, for want of a common language, do not exhibit kosmos" (Mackie 19).

The lack of harmony in the Trojan ranks is temporarily righted by a scheme arranged by Zeus. While holding assembly on the heights of Pergamon, the Trojans are visited by the messenger of the gods, Iris, who, disguised as the sentry, Polites, addresses his brother:

Hektor, on you beyond all I urge this, to do as I tell you:
all about the great city of Priam are many companions,
but multitudinous is the speech of the scattered nations:
let each man who is their leader give orders to these men,
and let each set his citizens in order, and lead them. (2.802-06)

The Trojan allies are companions-in-arms, but they do not embody a united community like the Greeks. Hector serves as their commander, but he does not function as the overlord of equal warlords, as does Agamemnon. Indeed, a lack of shared intent and resolve is manifest among the diversified troops. The Trojans, in order to defend their city, are forced at times to provide their allies with gifts. Hector cries out to his companions: "I wear out my own people for presents / and food, wherewith I make strong the spirit within each one of you" (17.225-26).

Each ally of Hector and the Trojans is a nation unto itself. National identification is based on race, not on the Greek commonality and collectivity of culture. The term 'nation' corresponds to a people and is determined by blood ties, the genealogical link that accounts for innate and common qualities. Because the strength of the Trojan nation "lies with the genealogy of one house and one family, the stability can rest . . . in the unbroken line of that family" (Scully, "The Polis in Homer" 9).

In the eighth century BC the primitive Hellenic nation was beginning to develop, and communication within and without Greece was increasing. "As [Greeks] came into contact with other cultures and achieved greater inland mobility, they grew aware of themselves as an independent group, as Hellenes" (Graf 78). Panhellenism, evidenced in the inception of the Olympic Games in 776 BC, was evolving. Homer, composing his tale of Troy during this period, was molding the story of one nation based on a society with a common cultural heritage vis-à-vis

one based on an aristocratic household whose distinguished bloodlines dated from ancient times.

Jacques Perret, although speaking of Rome at the dawn of its Empire, helps to explain the timing of the fabrication of the Iliad and the other foundation myths, namely the Aeneid:

On peut poser comme un axiome de valeur universelle qu'une communauté, qu'un peuple ne possède une histoire de ses origines que lorsqu'il a acquis une signification historique, de sorte qu'il y a intérêt pour lui ou pour les autres à découvrir son origine. Seuls les peuples importants racontent l'histoire de leurs origines et cette histoire ne se forme qu'après le commencement de leur importance et de leur puissance. (xii)

When the Iliad was being shaped, at "l'aurore d'une civilisation" (Petit de Julleville 51), feelings of nationhood were emerging. Although the national epic of Rome, the Aeneid, was "le produit longuement élaboré, d'une civilisation raffinée" (Petit de Julleville 50), nevertheless, it was composed at the dawn of the Roman Empire when the new ruling Julio-Claudian family was seeking legitimacy; likewise, the Historia Regum Britanniae and the Roman de Brut were written at the onset of the Anglo-Norman dynasty. The Trojan legend, expanded and altered by successive generations, was considered a major source of each nation's history from the time of ancient Greece as far as ancient Rome up to medieval France and England.

Whether Homer was composing a foundation myth for a nation predicated on an organized community or for one built around a dynasty linked by blood ties or for a synthesis of the two, he illustrated the view

of life of a knightly ruling class for an audience comprised of the upper classes. Throughout Greece aristocratic families perpetuated an impeccable pedigree dating from Mycenaean times. Leaders in Homer's Ionia took the names of heroes from the Trojan War to enhance their status and to validate their authority.

As Homer evokes an image of "a noisy mixture of nations, speaking many tongues" defending against a united "collection of Greek forces" (Mackie 10, 7), he is showing a conflict between East and West, which persisted through the Middle Ages. Although he lived before the strife between Greece and Persia, "Ionian . . . Greek settlers on the coast of Asia Minor—ancestors of Homer himself—had clashed, perhaps in the ninth century, with Asian peoples . . ." (Grant 33). Herodotus writes that in the view of the Persians, "it was the capture of Troy that first made them enemies of the Greeks" (42). Thus, he implies that the subsequent conflict between East and West had its origins with the capture of Troy centuries earlier.

Troy as both a historical and a legendary city held a commanding position as a Bronze Age crossroads of trade routes between Europe and Asia. Although archaeological remains bear out that the Trojan culture looked westwards toward the Greeks rather than toward its Asian neighbors, the Iliad shows the Trojan army to be a coalition of allies from neighboring communities in Asia Minor. According to Michael Grant, the East-West aspect of the siege of Troy is reflected in the Iliad in the

difference between the unified Greeks and "the oriental cosmopolitanism of the Trojan ranks" (33):

So thronged beat upon beat the Danaans' close battalions
steadily into battle, with each of the lords commanding
his own men; and these went silently, you would not think
all these people with voices kept in their chest were marching;
silently, in fear of their commanders; and upon all
glittered as they marched the shining armour they carried.
But the Trojans, as sheep in a man of possessions' steading
stand in their myriads waiting to be drained of their white milk
and bleat interminably as they hear the voice of their lambs, so the
crying of the Trojans went up through the wide army.
Since there was no speech nor language common to all of them
but their talk was mixed, who were called there from many far
places. (4.427-38)

The contrast between the harmonious Greeks and the babel and disorder of the Trojan forces results from a difference in the culture and ideology of each nation. The national ideology of either the Trojan race or the union of Greek states refers to a belief system that articulates the way each society thinks of itself, the values and customs it holds dear, and the traditional symbols of the collective imagination.

In the *Iliad* the ideology of the Greeks identifies with the web of Homeric city-states, where order is preserved by the use of social blame. Conversely, the Trojans live in a praise culture that focuses on the *oikos*, 'aristocratic household'. "Trojan praise . . . is aligned in the narrative with a type of community that defends the *oikos* as its center of stability and organization, and relies on guest-friends connected with this household for help in doing so" (Mackie 129).

Philotês, 'loyalty to one's friends', and *aidôs*, 'shame' or 'fear of disgrace', are important virtues for the Achaeans, as two of the attributes

of a national ideology to advance cooperation and order. Ajax exhorts his men with words that encourage a cohesive community:

Dear friends, be men; let shame be in your hearts, and discipline, and have consideration for each other in the strong encounters, since more come through alive when men consider each other, and there is no glory when they give way, nor warcraft either. (15.561-64)

Unlike the Achaeans, kleos, 'praise' or 'fame', and charis, 'gratitude', are the virtues that the Trojans and their allies seek. Hector, while musing about immortality for himself on the field of battle, rallies his forces, who reciprocate with noisy excitement:

'Trojans and Dardanians and companions in arms: hear me. Now I had thought that, destroying the ships and all the Achaians We might take our way back once more to windy Ilion, But the darkness came too soon, and this beyond all else rescued the Argives and their vessels along the beach where the sea breaks.

... Tomorrow [Diomedes] will learn his own strength, if he can stand up to my spear's advance; but sooner than this, I think, in the foremost he will go down under the stroke, and many companions about him as the sun goes up into tomorrow. Oh, if I only could be as this in all my days immortal and ageless and be held in honour as Athene and Apollo are honoured as surely as this oncoming day brings evil to the Argives.' So Hektor spoke among them, and the Trojans shouted approval. (8.496-501, 535-542).

The ideology of Panhellenic order and cohesiveness is called into question by the disruption that Achilles introduces to it. He does not adequately concern himself with philotēs or aidōs, 'loyalty' or 'shame', in his dealings with his fellow Achaeans. Ajax reproaches him because "for the sake of one single girl" (9.637-38), Briseis, whom Agamemnon chose

to abduct from him, he "does not remember that friends' affection / wherein we honoured him by the ships, far beyond all others. . . . Respect your own house, we are under the same roof with you" (9.630-31, 640).

Achilles imagines himself a xenos, an 'outsider', whom the Achaeans do not treat with kleos and charis, 'praise' and 'gratitude'. He receives no reciprocation for all the heroic fighting that he has performed for them. Addressing Odysseus, who has just appealed to him to return to the war, Achilles laments the lack of honor and fair treatment shown to him by Agamemnon:

. . . neither
do I think the son of Atreus, Agamemnon, will persuade me,
nor the rest of the Danaans, since there was no gratitude given
for fighting incessantly forever against your enemies.
Fate is the same for the man who holds back, the same if he fights
hard.
We are all held in a single honour, the brave with the weaklings.
A man dies still if he has done nothing, as one who has done much.
Nothing is won for me, now that my heart has gone through its
afflictions
in forever setting my life on the hazard of battle.
For as to her unwinged young ones the mother bird brings back
morsels, wherever she can find them, but as for herself it is
suffering
such was I, as I lay through all the many nights unsleeping,
such as I wore through the bloody days of the fighting,
striving with warriors for the sake of these men's women.
But I say that I have stormed from my ships twelve cities
of men, and by land eleven more through the generous Troad.
From all these we took forth treasures, goodly and numerous,
and we would bring them back, and give them to Agamemnon,
Atreus' son; while he, waiting back beside the swift ships, would
take them, and distribute them little by little, and keep
many.
All the other prizes of honour he gave the great men and the
princes
are held fast by them, but from me alone of all the Achaians
he has taken and keeps the bride of my heart. . . . (9.314-36)

Achilles defies convention by blaming and insulting the regal commander-in-chief, Agamemnon. Nestor warns him not to match his strength with the king, "since never equal with the rest is the portion of honour / of the sceptred king to whom Zeus gives magnificence" (1.278-79). Achilles' lack of responsiveness to *aidôs*, 'shame', is potentially dangerous, for his perception of one's place in the social structure and of the obligations that accompany that place could upset the hierarchical order of the Achaean community.

The two cultures portrayed by Homer, including their ideologies, were representations for future nations. Aspects of a dynastic praise culture based on the stability of the aristocratic household appeared in the ruling classes of medieval France and England, while qualities of a unified blame culture based on commonality of territory and culture surfaced by the fifteenth-century. Neither belief system is balanced, as evidenced in the *Iliad*. With the loss of Hector, the Trojan society exposes itself as an aristocratic household in decline, while the political superiority of the Achaean community is complicated by the presence of the dissident Achilles.

Warrior Ethic of the Hero

Despite singular distinctions, the Greeks and the Trojans share a glorified ideal of the warrior ethic as an element of their national identities. Gaining permanent honor by dying gloriously is fundamental to the warrior-hero. He must demonstrate superior authority and

courage, as he is a member of the "governing class, the propertied class, and also the class on which the burden falls of maintaining the community" (Redfield 9). For his services he acquires a social status that garners him privileges as compensation. The role and reward of the godlike warrior is elucidated by Sarpedon, lord of the Lycians, an ally of Troy, as he addresses his comrade in arms:

Glaukos, why is it you and I are honoured before others
with pride of place, the choice meats and filled wine cups
in Lykia, and all men look on us as if we were immortals,
and we are appointed a great piece of land by the banks of
Xanthos,
good land, orchard and vineyard, and ploughland for the planting
of wheat?

Therefore it is our duty in the forefront of the Lykians
to take our stand, and bear our part of the blazing of battle,
so that a man of the close-armoured Lykians may say of us:
'Indeed, these are no ignoble men who are lords of Lykia,
these kings of ours, who feed upon the fat sheep appointed
and drink the exquisite sweet wine, since indeed there is strength
of valour in them, since they fight in the forefront of the Lykians.'
(12.310-21)

The warrior espouses his mortality, but at the same time fancies himself a member of an enduring family tree. Glaucus, second in command of the Lycians, clarifies this duality for his adversary, Diomedes:

. . . why ask of my generation?
As is the generation of leaves, so is that of humanity.
The wind scatters the leaves on the ground, but the live timber
burgeons with leaves again in the season of spring returning.
So one generation of men will grow while another dies.

But Hippolochos begot me, and I claim that he is my father;
he sent me to Troy, and urged upon me repeated injunctions,
to be always among the bravest, and hold my head above others,
not shaming the generation of my fathers. . . . (6.145-48, 206-09)

Although a concept of the warrior ethic proclaims that an individual gains honor and glory by boldly embracing death during combat, neither Hector nor Achilles willingly seeks death for his "nation." However, each aims for the singular honor and glory of the hero. Michael Grant claims that "one of the *Iliad's* outstanding contributions to human civilization, for good or for evil, is its concept of the hero" (44-45). "The hero is the ideal personal type whose being is centered upon nobility and its realization . . ." (Curtius 167). He makes honor his foremost code, and glory his driving force. It was an honor of moral excellence, personal respect and prestige. "It was a glory of military and athletic prowess, hereditary arrogance and aristocratic class privilege" (Grant 45).

Achilles, reproached and woefully deprived of the honor due him by Agamemnon and the Achaeans, nevertheless fits the profile of the epic hero defined by Northrop Frye. "If superior in degree to other men but not to his natural environment, the hero is a leader. He has authority, passions, and powers of expression far greater than ours, but what he does is subject both to social criticism and to the order of nature" (33-34).

Achilles possessed an excellence in speech and combat that were attained in the royal household of Agamemnon under the tutelage of Phoenix, who reminisces about their first days at court:

. . . Peleus the aged horseman sent me forth with you
on that day when he sent you from Phthia to Agamemnon
a mere child, who knew nothing yet of the joining of battle

nor of debate where men are made pre-eminent. Therefore he sent me along with you to teach you of all these matters, to make you a speaker of words and one who accomplished in action. (9.438-43)

In combat with Hector, Achilles radiates military fervor, for not only his bronze armor but also his passion for battle make him shine "like the flare of blazing fire or the sun in its rising" (22.135). Homer relates Hector's reaction to the brilliant Achilles as well as his own dark fate:

And the shivers took hold of Hektor when he saw him, and he could no longer stand his ground there, but left the gates behind, and fled, frightened, and Peleus' son went after him in the confidence of his quick feet.

...
But when for the fourth time they had come around to the well springs then the Father balanced his golden scales, and in them he set two fateful portions of death, which lays men prostrate, one for Achilleus, and one for Hektor, breaker of horses, and balanced it by the middle; and Hektor's death-day was heavier and dragged downward toward death, and Phoibos Apollo forsook him. (22.136-38, 208-13)

Besides his brilliant skills in warfare and rhetoric, Achilles commands a heroic clarity of intellect which is the basis of his resistance to do what is not honorable. When asked to return to the fighting, the hero cannot choose to be reconciled to insult and discourtesy, he can only come back under compulsion (Redfield 105). Achilles' refusal to fight is an affirmation of the honor of the warrior ethic; "the absoluteness of that affirmation makes Achilles the greatest of heroes" (Redfield 105).

Achilles' larger-than-life image is contrasted with the more human figure of Hector. Although he is a creature of terror to the Achaeans, Hector is compassionate and gracious and a beloved member of the Trojan community. Helen speaks warmly of her brother-in-law: "There was no other in all the wide Troad who was kind to me, and my friend" (24.774-75). His sister Cassandra presents him as "a great joy to his city, and all his people" (24.704). Andromache, his wife, portrays him as the defender, "who guarded / the city, and the grave wives, and the innocent children" (24.729-30). Homer names him "Hektor shepherd of the people" (22.277).

Legacy of Hector

In the "nation" of Troy inheritance secures the permanence of the oikos, 'aristocratic household'. After 10 years of war, Hector is the sole surviving qualified heir of Priam, as he is the only son left who is worthy of commanding the Trojan forces and of defending the city. "As future king, he embodies the continuity of the [nation]. As such he is his father's hope for the maintenance of royal privileges within the family [oikos]" (Redfield 113).

Hector is mindful of his duty to preserve the royal family of Troy and thus the Trojan race, but, as a warrior, he is obligated to test his limits. An obligation to the warrior ethic leads Hector to an acute sensitivity toward nemesis, 'moral disapproval of others', and toward aidôs, 'shame', hence he reproaches Paris for a lack of these somewhat Achaean traits:

Strange man! There is no way that one, giving judgment in fairness,
 could dishonour your work in battle, since you are a strong man.
 But of your own accord you hang back, unwilling. And my heart
 is grieved in its thought, when I hear shameful things spoken about
 you
 by the Trojans, who undergo hard fighting for your sake.
 (6. 521-525)

Paris, fully acceptive of his fallible nature, responds to his brother:

"But beyond his strength no man can fight, although he be eager"

(13.787). Hector, on the other hand, fearing nemesis, 'disgrace', and desiring glory and the flow of tradition, cannot afford to surrender to his human inclination. He explains himself to Andromache, who has begged him to quit the war and remain with her and their son on the rampart:

... yet I would feel deep shame
 before the Trojans, and the Trojan women with trailing garments,
 if like a coward I were to shrink aside from the fighting;
 and the spirit will not let me, since I have learned to be valiant
 and to fight always among the foremost ranks of the Trojans,
 winning for my own self great glory, and for my father. (6.441-46)

Unlike Achilles, whose military prowess is spontaneous, Hector had to master being valiant. Both heroes are identical, however, in that they must confront the individual impulse to win kleos, 'praise', preferably outside of their own community and beyond the immediate future. In conversation with Andromache, Hector imagines the inevitable glory that will befall him and his family:

'For I know this thing well in my heart, and my mind knows it:
 there will come a day when sacred Ilion shall perish,
 ...
 and some day seeing you shedding tears a man will say of you:
 "This is the wife of Hektor, who was ever the bravest fighter

of the Trojans, breakers of horses, in the days when they fought about Ilion.”

... Then taking up
his dear son he tossed him about in his arms, and kissed him, and lifted his voice in prayer to Zeus and the other immortals: ‘Zeus, and you other immortals, grant that this boy, who is my son, may be as I am, pre-eminent among the Trojans, great in strength, as am I, and rule strongly over Ilion.’
(6. 447-49, 459-61, 473-79)

Hector acknowledges the mortality of Troy, but also appreciates that he is Troy’s only hope for survival. As the chief military and spiritual leader of the Trojan defense, if he dies, the community dies with him. Though he and his city cannot escape their destiny, he understands that they will gain everlasting glory if they perish honorably. During his encounter with Achilles, realizing death is near, Hector counsels himself: “Let me at least not die without a struggle, inglorious, / but do some big thing first, that men to come shall know of it” (22.304-05). Hector’s interest is in the kleos that compensates the hero for his fate (Mackie 99), a glorious death about which songs will be sung for generations to come.

Lattimore calls Hector the “accidental triumph” (37). Although not as impressive in beauty, courage, and strength as Achilles, he “is still the hero who forever captures the affection and admiration of the modern reader, far more strongly than his conqueror has ever done” (36-37).

Largely through the character of Hector, the Trojans have endeared themselves to the psyche of modern man. During the Middle Ages, Trojan heroes were first and foremost images of chivalric warriors. Hector was proclaimed one of these heroes, leading authors to liken him

to prestigious leaders of the Crusades (Beaune 21, 48-49). He was declared one of the Nine Worthies as a representative of the ancient heroes, along with Alexander and Caesar (Huizinga 61).

Hector represents the courageous, yet vulnerable, hero, who, appreciating his fate, tries desperately to die bravely and win renown, but fails in the end. "It is a terrible moment when this mighty man quails and runs before Achilles" (Grant 39). C.P. Cavafy, a Greek poet writing in the twentieth century, poignantly captures the bond between Hector and ourselves in this excerpt from his poem, "The Trojans":

Our efforts are like those of the Trojans.
We think that with resolution and daring
We will alter the downdrag of destiny.

But when the great crisis comes,
Our daring and our resolution vanish;
And we run all around the walls
Seeking to save ourselves in flight.

However, our fall is certain. Above
On the walls, the dirge has already begun. (14)

Conclusion

Whether or not Priam's Troy fell gloriously is both immaterial and inconclusive. Famed archaeologists, Wilhelm Dörpfeld and Carl Blegen, differ as to the cause of its destruction. Did its ruin come by way of earthquake or siege or a combination of the two? The question remains open, as the phase of archaeological Troy that was Priam's city has not been definitively fixed.

The city that fell to the Greeks, according to Dörpfeld, was the stratum labeled Troy VI, whereas Blegen maintains that it was Troy VIIa.

Blegen does concede, however, that with the appearance of Troy VI in the Middle Bronze Age a distinct break with the past was made. The Trojans of this era were known as great builders. Also, in the first stratum of Troy VI horse bones were discovered for the first time.

Michael Wood asserts that Troy VI, because of a certain type of Mycenaean pottery found there, had to fall around 1250. "Troy VIh, . . . the last phase, the city of fine walls and towers, . . . was therefore the city known to the Mycenaean at the peak of the power of the palaces in mainland Greece in both the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, and the masses of Mycenaean imports prove it" (200). Troy VIIa, on the other hand, was destroyed around 1180, a time after the golden age of the mainland palaces. It was a city of shanties and tenements.

In reality, the Troy of the Iliad, "was the equivalent of a walled palace, . . . a royal city on a little hill, sheltering a few hundred people with a few thousand more living around it" (Michael Wood 5). The citadel of a city that went back at least as far as 1500 BC (Michael Wood 248), it was, however, the stronghold of a long-lasting dynasty of Trojan kings.

How then did this Late Bronze Age fortress city become what Christopher Morley calls in the Prologue to his Trojan Horse "earth's most famous town?" Because it was based on myth, the tale of Troy could be recreated to accommodate any society of any era. As stated by Morley, Troy "belongs to everybody, and to all times at once." It is a place of perpetual spring, a dream world, where time is unimportant. Let us imagine Troy as that classic locus amoenus:

You must build it in your own mind. Put it on a rocky hillside above a channel of shallowing green water. Put over it your own favorite sky; give it your most familiar birds and flowers, sounds and savors. Just for a moment, concentrate on essentials: the wide freshness of sunny air, the breath of pine and fern and cedar, the clear blue spread of distant sea, the snake on the stone still warm at dusk. How many million years did it take him to counterfeit that lichen pattern, and what is time to him?

Or to us. . . . (1)

Or, let us picture Troy as the eternal mythic city that shapes itself so as to live forever in the memory of mankind:

Imagine, please, . . . a stylized medieval stronghold, with walls and towers and battlements. Conical turrets are washed in sunset, against the darkening lavender of Mount Ida. Dear to any city is a neighboring mountain, even if only a hill. It gives somehow a sense of solid permanence; which we terribly need.

As we look carefully, it's odd: among medieval walls and classic temples we see perpendicular modern skyscrapers, radio towers, filling stations. . . . (Morley 2-3)

Although Homer's Troy, as a "sacred city," was reluctant to embrace its vulnerability and as a result was left unprotected by the gods and destroyed, mankind throughout the ages has succeeded in resurrecting it to its former glory. Different generations gleaned from the Troy Tale elements expressive of their age. Troy was rebuilt again and again, its immortality the consequence of the power of myth and literature.

CHAPTER 3 FROM FREDEGAR TO WACE: THE UNIQUE PERSPECTIVE OF THE TROJAN-ORIGIN MYTH

In Western Europe during the twelfth century men's hearts and minds were waking to a new appreciation of the world (Heer 101). There was a revived vigor of intellectual and literary life. This renewal was reflected in historical works. The writing of chronicles, usually historical accounts of events arranged in sequence of time, without analysis or interpretation, called for an open mind ready to reflect on a profusion of knowledge. However, "in medieval histories, fact and fiction often overlapped" (Blacker xi). In fact, sometimes myth was created to authenticate historical narrative (Seaman 4). Wace's Roman de Brut, issued circa 1155, and the work from which it was adapted, Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae, published around 1138, were based on myth and legend, although were perceived largely as history.

The Historia and the Brut were the result of the rebirth of interest in classical antiquity and in the search for origins in twelfth-century England. The medieval chronicler believed a great people should have a glorious past, and the founders of a great nation should be heroic (Kendrick 1). Brutus, the eponymous hero of the Britons, was granted verisimilitude because he was linked with a major event in world history, the fall of Troy.

The Brut and the Historia begin with an account of the birth and upbringing of Brutus, great-grandson of Aeneas.² After being banished from his country, like Aeneas, he wanders from region to region and risks bold adventures. Ultimately, he and his followers reach their destination, the island of Britain, where he becomes the ruler of these recent inhabitants, the Britons. The tale resumes with the heroic exploits of a long line of British kings. Constantine I was the king who captured Rome and made himself emperor; Vortigern invited in the Saxons; Arthur subdued most of western Europe and had a court whose splendor was superior to all others. After Arthur was mortally wounded, the country was beset with dissension. (MacDougall 8-11). MacDougall closes with the following statement:

There was a brief revival of the hope of the Britons under the rule of the last British king, Cadwallader, but the pestilence and famine forced them to leave the island altogether and take refuge in Brittany. Britain was now destitute of its ancient inhabitants except for a remnant in Wales. The Angles and Saxons had finally triumphed. (11)

As regards scholastic activity in twelfth-century England and France, R. W. Southern maintains that England was "a colony of the French intellectual empire, important in its way and quite productive, but still subordinate" (158). He adds that "the strongest creative impulse in England in the early twelfth century was historical" (160). Important chroniclers of the first half of the century were the Anglo-Norman

² In the precursor to Geoffrey's Historia Regum Britanniae, the Historia Brittonum, Brutus is the grandson of Aeneas.

William of Malmesbury, a renowned monk-historian, who authored a history of England beginning with the arrival of the Saxons, entitled the Gesta Regum Anglorum; the Anglo-Norman archdeacon Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote the Historia Anglorum, a history of the English from the earliest times to the present day; and the Welshman, or Breton,³ Geoffrey of Monmouth, an Augustinian canon living in Oxford, who in his Historia filled out the gaps in British history unrecorded by the earlier chroniclers.

All three authors found it necessary that their people's history should be known. Though involved with the new Anglo-Norman regime, namely with Henry I and/or the usurper, King Stephen, and other distinguished Anglo-Norman noblemen, each author was principally interested in explaining the prodigious rise in influence and importance of his own race, either the Anglo-Saxons or the Welsh, that is, the Britons, and the various internal conflicts which had troubled their history (Heer 278). Wace, a Norman, published his work a year after Henry II began his reign in 1154, almost 20 years after Geoffrey's Historia appeared.

The Norman Conquest was an important reason for the rise in historical writing in twelfth-century England. The native English sought not only to validate their property rights but also to preserve their cultural past. Southern professes that the adopting of Old English

³ Geoffrey was from the vicinity of Monmouth in southeast Wales, but his racial origin is uncertain. Neil Wright concludes that he was a "normanised Celt" (x).

history and legends, as well as intermarriage and “the gradual replacement of English by French as the vernacular of cultivated people even of English descent, . . . all these things helped to produce a single nation at the top . . .” (138).

For this distinctive “single nation,” which comprised the Anglo-Norman aristocracy, the new era precipitated the desire to define its recently blended heritage and to justify its supremacy to those its armies had conquered (Blacker xii). The elite, both at court and at local aristocratic centers of culture, patronized authors who proclaimed the legitimacy of their rule, strengthened their authority, and heightened their prestige. The Historia and the Brut presented a genealogy of kings, although mythical, that served Anglo-Norman dynastic ideological interests. Genealogy allowed the ruling dynasties to present the past (and by implication the future) in terms of their own history (Dumville XV, 82).

A new Anglo-Norman culture was developing that was interested in its distinctive past, a history that would determine the budding nation's identity and serve as a precedent for its political ambitions. Wace and Geoffrey helped to heighten the prestige of the new regime as well as to establish a political identity by furnishing it with its own unique national origin myth. They associated the origins of the history of the British nation with the glorious civilizations of Troy and Rome. The Historia and the Brut helped draw the various peoples of the island together, because

now the Anglo-Normans as well as the native English and Britons could take pride in the ancient British past.

An origin myth provides a superiority that justifies the mastery over other nations. By reason of the Trojan-origin myth, ancestry became the standard for proving legitimacy of social rank. To trace one's lineage to a distant ancestor, preferably one that was powerful and distinguished, became an integral part in establishing the legitimacy of dynastic authority and right (Seaman 3). The Trojans represented the prototypical heroes of an ancient and splendid civilization, their legacy being upheld and propagated by the Romans through Virgil's Aeneid. An essential element of the Roman legacy that transferred to the Franks, Britons, and consequently to the Anglo-Normans was a predilection for imperialism.

Henry I, king of England from 1100 until December, 1135, was aware of France's Trojan-origin myth and perhaps became the stimulus for Geoffrey to compose the Historia. However, Tatlock contends that Geoffrey had no motivation other than racial patriotism (427). Both he and Wace intended to entertain and inform the Anglo-Norman nobility that was interested in the ancient history and legends of its adopted land. The appeal was due to the rapid advance of literary culture among this fashionable elite.

Tatlock suggests that because "patriotism attaches to the land as well as the race," heroic stories that presented "a splendid picture of

events in the island for many many centuries back would also gratify its actual rulers," (427). The present rulers of England, therefore, were justified in not having a direct lineage to the ancient Britons. The glorious past and power of the Britons could be transferred to the Anglo-Normans because the two races had inhabited and ruled the same land.

Edmond Faral in La Légende arthurienne, nonetheless, gives an account of a Norman Trojan-origin myth. It was the imaginative undertaking of the clerk Dudon de Saint-Quenton in the early eleventh century (289), and Guillaume de Jumièges, who embellished it and dedicated it to William the Conqueror in the late eleventh century (292). Although it is tainted with absurdities, Faral claims that the motive for its composition was "l'exemple . . . [de] la légende de l'origine troyenne des Francs." (293)

Henry I was indeed curious about the earliest history of his chief rivals, the kings of France. Henry of Huntingdon states in his Historia Anglorum that the king had spent the year of 1128 fighting in Normandy, and that when he enquired the origin and early history of the Frankish kingdom, someone who was not uneducated replied:

Regum potentissime, sicut plerique gentes Europe, ita Franci a Troianis duxerunt originem. Antenor namque cum suis profugus ab excidio Troie, in finibus Pannonie civitatem Siccambriam nomine edificavit. Verum post mortem Antenoris, constituerunt sui duces super se, Torgotum et Franctionem, a quo Franci sunt appellati. ii.38)⁴

⁴ The quote is taken from Diana Greenway's 1996 edition of Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon: Historia Anglorum The History of the English People.

[O most powerful of kings, like most nations in Europe, the Franks took their origin from the Trojans. For Antenor, with his followers, fled from the fall of Troy to the boundaries of Pannonia and built a city called Siccambria. But after Antenor's death, they set up as dukes over them Torgot and Francio, from whom the Franks were named.] (Greenway 478)

Henry of Huntingdon then gives a genealogy of the kings of France.

Chronicle of Fredegar

Let us now turn to a description and interpretation of the Frankish origin myths found in the Chronicle of Fredegar and in the Liber Historiae Francorum, together with an effort to justify their composition. The Chronicle of Fredegar is the first known written work that embraces the claim that the Franks were descended from the Trojans. Compiled in the first half of the seventh century, the Chronicle may have had more than one author, "almost certainly none of whom were named Fredegar" (Collins 81). Convenience is best served, however, by retaining the traditional name of Fredegar as the assumed author.

Fredegar I

Fredegar's account, like most chronicles of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, was a compilation of detailed historical and biblical information that provided a narrative outline of human history from Adam up to the present age, with especial emphasis being placed on the author's own times. In his prologue Fredegar makes a characteristic medieval statement about the world growing old thus relinquishing the finer points of wisdom, so he must pass on to posterity whatever he has learned.

Around the year 613, the "first" Fredegar, a Burgundian, "decided to attach some local annals to a short chronicle of his own. The annals seem to have covered the period 584-604, though they may have gone back further. His chronicle covers the period 604-613" (Wallace-Hadrill 73-74). A hand book of world chronology that comprised material by Jerome, Hydatius, and Isidore, and data from the Liber Generationis, a frequent preface to early Middle Ages' chronicles, may have been added at this time.

Into an abridgement of the Liber Generationis, the Latin translation of a world chronicle by a third century bishop of Rome, Hippolytus, two words, Troicane and Frigiiae, were added by Fredegar. They were inserted into this work's list of descendants of Noah's son Japhet. "He wishes it to be understood that the Trojans, and especially such of them as the Frigii, or Franks as he later explains, as made their way west, could trace their descent to a respectable son of Noah" (Wallace-Hadrill 79), for it was widely held that after the Flood, Japhet was the originator of the Gentiles, whose progeny occupied Europe.

Fredegar also included in his Chronicle a version of the Latin translation and continuation of the Greek chronicle of Eusebius of Caesarea composed by St. Jerome in the late fourth century AD (Collins 85). The combined work, commonly called the Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle, became the customary encyclopedia of chronology in the West, establishing the precedent to link sacred history with the reigns of kings and their chronology, kings being the symbol of the whole nation.

Fredegar also attached a story regarding the Trojan origin of the Franks to his extractions from the Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle. In his Trojan-origin myth he created a distinguished background for the Franks by identifying their early kings as Trojans and by showing them to be a fierce, freedom-loving, warlike people superior to the Romans, nonetheless, their blood relatives.

Like Aeneas and his fellow Trojans, the Franks migrated from Troy after its destruction and endured a long, treacherous journey before arriving in their new homeland. Edward James contends, that "it was impossible to acquire any learning in the sixth century without discovering, from Virgil, that Rome itself had been founded by refugee Trojans" (236).

A Trojan-Gaulish legend existed by the fourth century AD. A Roman historian of the time, Ammianus Marcellinus, confirms in his chapter on the origin of the Gauls that after the sack of Troy some of those fleeing from the Greeks occupied Gaul, which was uninhabited (The Later Roman Empire 84). Wallace-Hadrill claims that "tales of Troy were familiar to educated Gallo-Romans of the Later Empire" (80). Kurth maintains that Fredegar's tale was essentially a learned fiction, not a legend of the common people:

Cette légende aura le caractère de toutes les fictions du même genre. Elle sera de provenance érudite et nullement populaire, elle se confinera dans le monde des livres, et elle ne se répandra jamais dans les masses. En un mot, ce ne sera pas une création vivante du génie poétique de la nation, ce sera un fabricant du pédantisme des lettres. (506)

Whether or not Fredegar was the originator of his Frankish-Trojan tale cannot be determined. No doubt much of what he wrote was his own invention, but much was legend and much was convoluted history. The following is the Frankish Trojan-origin myth of Fredegar I in an abbreviated form:

Priamo primo regi habuerunt; postea per historiarum libros scriptum est qualiter habuerunt regi Friga. Postea partiti sunt in duabus partibus. Una pars perrexit in Macdoniam: vocati sunt Macedonis secundum populum a quem recepti sunt, et regionem Macedoniae, qui oppremebatur a gentes vicinas; invitati ab ipsis fuerunt, ut eis praeberent auxilium. Per quos postea cum subiuncti in plurima procreatione crevissent, ex ipso genere Macedonis fortissimi pugnatore effecti sunt: quod in postremum in diebus Phylipphy regis et Alexandri filii sui fama confirmat, illorum fortitudine qualis fuit.

Nam et illa alia pars, quae de Frigia progressa est, ab Olexo per fraude decepti, tamen non captivati, nisi exinde eiecti, per multis regionibus pervacantis cum uxores et liberos, electum a se regi Francione nomen, per quem Franci vocantur. In postremum, eo quod fortissimus ipse Francio in bellum fuisse fertur, et multo tempore cum plurimis gentibus pugnam gerens, partem Asiae vastans in Europam dirigens, inter Renum vel Danuvium et mare consedit.

Ibique mortuo Francione, cum iam per proelia tanta quae gesserat parva ex ipsis manus remanserat, duces ex se constituerunt. Attamen semper alterius dicione negantes, multo post tempore cum ducibus transaegerunt usque ad tempore Pompegi consolis, qui et cum ipsis demicans seo et cum reliquis gentium nationes, quae in Germania habitabant, totasque dicione subdidit Romanam. Sed continuo Franci cum Saxonibus amicicias inientes, adversus Pompegium revellantis, eiusdem rennuerunt potestatem. Pompegius in Spaniam contra gentes demicans plurimas, moretur. Post haec nulla gens usque in presentem diem Francos potuit superare, qui tamen eos suae dicione potuisset sublugare. Ad ipsum instar et Macedonis, qui ex eadem generatione fuerunt, quamvis gravia bella fuissent adtrite, tamen semper liberi ab externa dominatione vivere conati sunt. Tercia ex eadem origine gentem Torcorum fuisse fama confirmat, ut, cum Franci Asiam pervacantis pluribus proeliis transissent, ingredientis Europam, super litore Danuviae fluminis inter Ocianum et Traciam una ex eis ibidem pars resedit. Electum a se utique regem nomen Torquoto, per quod gens Turquorum nomen accepit. Franci huius

aeteneris gressum cum uxores et liberes agebant, nec erat gens qui eis in proelium potuisset resistere. Sed dum plurima egerunt proelia, quando ad Renum conseruerunt, dum a Turquoto menuati sunt, parua ex eis manus aderat. A captiuitate Troge usque ad primam olympiadem fiunt anni 406.

... Primus rex Latinorum tunc in ipso tempore surrexit, eo quod a Troia fugaciter exierant, et ex ipso genere et Frigas: fuerunt, nisi per ipsa captiuitate Troiae et inundatione Assiriorum et eorum persecutione, in duas partes egressi et ipsa ciuitate et regione. Unum exinde regnum Latinorum ereguntur et alium Frigorum. ... Aeneas et Frigas fertur germani fuissent. (SSRM 45-47)¹

[The first king they had was Priam; it is written throughout books of history how later they had Frigas as their king. Afterwards they were divided into two groups. One reached Macedonia and they were called Macedonians after the people by whom they were received and after the region of Macedonia. They had been invited by these people, who were being oppressed by the neighbouring tribes, so that they could offer them help. After they were united with these people, they grew numerous in offspring. From this tribe the bravest Macedonian warriors were created and their reputation later confirmed this in the days of King Philip and his son Alexander—such was their bravery.]

That other group, however, which set out from Phrygia, having been deceived through treachery by Ulysses, were none the less not taken prisoner but driven out from there and, traveling through many regions with their wives and children, they chose from among themselves Francio for their king. And it was after him that later they were named 'Franks' because this Francio is said to have been very brave in battle. Waging war for a long period with many tribes, devastating part of Asia, and turning toward Europe, [the group] settled down between the Rhine, the Danube, and the sea.

And there Francio died. Since only a small band of them remained because of the wars they had waged, they set up duces from their own number. And constantly spurning foreign domination, they carried on for a long time with their duces until the time of the consul Pompey, who, fighting both with them and with the other nations of tribes who lived in Germany, brought them all under Roman domination. But the Franks quickly entered an alliance with the Saxons and, rebelling against Pompey, cast off his authority. Pompey died fighting against many tribes in Spain. From after these events up to the present day no tribe has been

¹ The original writings of both Fredegars and the anonymous author of the Liber Historiae Francorum are found in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum, 2, abbreviated SSRM.

able to conquer the Franks, but rather they were able to subjugate them to their own authority. And in the example of the Macedonians, who were of the same stock, although they had been worn away in deadly wars, none the less they have always undertaken to live free from external domination. Tradition confirms that there was a third tribe from the same origin, the Turks, and that when the Franks in their travels and many battles crossed over and entered Europe, a group of them settled in that same place, above the bank of the river Danube between the ocean and Thrace. They elected from their midst a king named Turquotus from whom they got their name, 'Turks'. The Franks made this journey with their wives and children and there was no tribe who was able to resist them in battle. But since they waged many wars, and since their numbers were diminished by Turquotus, when they settled near the Rhine a small band remained. From the taking of Troy to the first Olympiad 406 years elapsed.

... Then in that same time the first king of the Latins [Aeneas] arose and, seeing that they had fled from Troy, he was from the same family as Frigas. Through the same taking of Troy and the inundation of Assyrians and their persecution they had gone out in two groups from that city and region. From this they established one kingdom of Latins and another of Phrygians. ... Aeneas and Frigas are said to have been brothers.] (Gerberding 14-15)

A main element of the Trojan legend clearly evident in this version is the prowess of the warriors. The Franks represent a warlike culture that strives to be free and independent, but sufficiently powerful and daring to conquer other peoples.

The reference to King Frigas and the country Phrygia probably comes from passages in the *Aeneid* where the Trojans are sometimes called Phrygians. The mention of Turks and Turquotus may designate Teuceri or Teucrians, one of the names for Trojans used by Virgil.

According to Faral, Fredegar confused the Alexander, "c'est-a-dire Paris," mentioned in the Eusebius-Jerome *Chronicle* with Alexander of

Macedonia (Légende 276). Faral states that the origin of the term 'Macedonians' "peut-être est-ce d'une mauvaise lecture de s. Jérôme, qui note . . . que les Phrygiens étaient anciennement nommés Maeones, nom rare à la connaissance de notre auteur, et qu'il aura lu comme Macedones" (277)?

The allusion to Turks and Macedonians may have originated from the decision of the Emperor Probus (276-82) to exile Frankish prisoners of war in the Black Sea area. He had also settled great numbers of Franks on the banks of the Rhine (Gibbon 288). Gibbon relates how a band of the rebellious Franks from the shores of the Black Sea confiscated ships and made their way back to their home in the Rhineland:

They easily escaped through the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, and, cruising along the Mediterranean, indulged their appetite for revenge and plunder by frequent descents on the unsuspecting shores of Asia, Greece, and Africa. The opulent city of Syracuse . . . was sacked by a handful of barbarians, who massacred the greatest part of the trembling inhabitants. From the island of Sicily the Franks proceeded to the Columns of Hercules, trusted themselves to the ocean, coasted round Spain and Gaul, and, steering their triumphant course through the British Channel, at length finished their surprising voyage by landing in safety on the . . . Frisian shores. (I, 289)

The location "between the Rhine, the Danube, and the sea" likely means the area that today includes the Netherlands and the area north of the German lower Rhine, the traditional home of the Franks (Gerberding 11). Like Aeneas, the Franks in Fredegar's story did not reach the final home of their people. They settled near the mouth of the Rhine and were known as Salian Franks.

Ammianus Marcellinus mentions the Salian Franks in a statement he makes about the Emperor Julian, who reigned from 360 to 363: "Quibus paratis petit primos omnium Francos, eos uidelicet, quos consuetudo Salios appellauit, ausos olim in Romano solo apud Toxandriam locum habitacula sibi figere praelicenter" (17, 8.3).⁶ [His first objective was the Franks, those specifically who are usually called Salii; they had had the temerity in the past to settle themselves on Roman soil at Toxandria" (17, 8.3)]. The Franks were moving southward during the middle of the fourth century into Toxandria, a district roughly equivalent to present-day Belgium, and about a century later, in 450, they began invading Gaul.

Wallace-Hadrill writes that the actual Salian chieftains of the Toxandrian period were Faramund, Clodio, Merovech, and Childeric I (158), names later given to the first Merovingian kings. The early Trojan-origin myths of the Franks recalled the Frankish petty kings who ruled during the fifth century, but they did not designate the Merovingian dynasty, which originated in the latter quarter of the fifth century.

The region "super litore Danuviae fluminis inter Ocianum et Traciam" [above the bank of the river Danube between the ocean and Thrace] may denote the Roman province, Dacia, a region roughly equivalent to present-day Romania. Fredegar may also have meant

⁶Original quotations of Ammianus Marcellinus are from his Rerum Gestarum Libri Qui Supersunt, the 1978 edition of Wolfgang Seyfarth.

Pannonia, approximately modern Hungary and Croatia, a Roman province whose name the Franks knew well but whose location was ambiguous.

The statement "a captivitate Troje usque ad primam olympiadem fiunt anni CCCCVI" [from the taking of Troy to the first Olympiad 406 years elapsed] was copied from the Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle (Gerberding 17). The phrase "inundatione Assyriorum" [an onslaught of Assyrians] rather than "Graecorum" [of Greeks] may have been written because one of the chronological standards of the Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle, the Regum Assyriorum, provided a significant chronology of the reign of ancient rulers (Wallace-Hadrill 79).

In associating the Franks with the Romans Fredegar demonstrates that, although their first kings are brothers, the Franks have their own origins and development distinct from the Romans. By casting off Roman domination, the myth demonstrates that the Franks pride themselves not only on their prowess in battle but also on their great love of liberty.

Fredegar II

Around 642, the "second" Fredegar, probably a Burgundian like his predecessor, began writing his narrative. Wallace-Hadrill maintains that "it would not be surprising if he were also a layman and a man of some standing in the Burgundian court of the mid-seventh century" (75). He attached a summary of the first six books of Gregory of Tours' sixth-century Historia Francorum, stopping at the year 584, to the original

chronicle. "Thus he had what he probably called five chronicles: the Liber, Jerome, Hydatius, Isidore and Gregory; and to them he proceeded to add a sixth, namely the annals and chronicle of his Burgundian predecessor, continued by himself from 614" (Wallace-Hadrill 76).

Fredegar II inserted his particular Trojan-origin story into his epitome of Gregory of Tours's Historia. However, Gregory had not suggested a Frankish-Trojan connection, possibly because he believed the Franks were distinguished only on account of their Christianity, not for their racial heritage. This Trojan legend was a reworked version of the earlier tale of 613. The second author chronicled the early kings and satisfied racial pride, but he did not make reference to the Romans. He does imply, nevertheless, that the Franks and the Romans have a common ancestry. Here is a shortened version of his interpretation of the Frankish-Trojan legend:

De Francorum vero regibus beatus Hieronimus, qui jam olim fuerant scripsit, quod prius Virgilii poetae narrat storia: Priamum primum habuisse regi; cum Troja fraude Olexe caperetur, exinde fuissent egressi; postea Frigam habuissent regem; befaria divisione partem earum Macedonia fuisse adgressa; alii cum Friga vocati Frigiis, Asiam pervacantes, litoris Danuvii fluminis et mare Ocianum consedis; dinuo byfaria devisione Eurupam media ex ipsis pars cum Francionem eorum rege ingressa fuisse. Eurupam pervacantis, cum uxoris et liberis Reni ripam occupant, nec procul a Reno civitatem ad instar Trogiae nominis aedificare conati sunt. Captum quidem, sed imperfectum opus remansit. Residua eorum pars, que super litore Danuvii remanserat, elictum a se Torcoth nomen regem, per quem ibique vocati sunt Turchi; et per Francionem hi alii vocati sunt Franci, multis post temporibus cum ducibus externas dominationis semper negantes. . . .

Franci electum a se regi, sicut prius fuerat, crinitum, inquirentes diligenter, ex genere Priami, Frigi, et Francionis super se creant nomen Theudemarem, filium Richemeris. (SSRM 93-95)

[Saint Jerome wrote about who the kings of the Franks formerly were and before him the poet Virgil's history relates this: that they had Priam as their first king; that when Troy was taken by the trickery of Ulysses they set out from there; that later they had Friga as their king. A two-part division occurred and one group came to Macedonia; the others, called the Frigii, travelled through Asia with Friga and settled on the shore of the river Danube and the ocean. Again there was a two-part division and a group comprising half of them with Francio their king entered Europe. Travelling across Europe with their wives and children they occupied the bank of the Rhine and not far from the Rhine they undertook the building of the city in the image of and with the name of Troy. It was indeed begun, but the task remained uncompleted. The remaining group of them, who stayed on the bank of the Danube, elected a king from among themselves named Torcot, after whom they were called 'Turks' and after Francio the other were called 'Franks'. For many years following, they with their duces continually ward off foreign domination.

The Franks chose from among themselves a long-haired king, just as there had been in earlier times. Carefully taking him from the family of Priam, Friga, and Francio, they established over themselves a man named Theudemar, son of Richemer. . .] (Gerberding 15-16)

The second Fredegar could claim the authority of Jerome for the names of the first Frankish kings, Priam, Friga, and Francio, because his predecessor had introduced his Trojan-origin story as a passage in the text of the Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle that he included in his own Chronicle (Gerberding 16).

The chief influence on Fredegar II for writing his particular Trojan legend came from Gregory of Tours' claim that the historians of the Franks never recorded the names of their kings (II.9). The inability of Gregory to discover a kingly tradition led Fredegar to make his purpose for composing his legend the ability to name these kings (Gerberding 17).

Both Gregory and Fredegar needed to sanction Frankish ascendancy. Gregory was presumably seeking a glorious past for the

Franks and the subsequent Merovingian dynasty in order to justify their seizure of Roman Gaul. Fredegar satisfied the glorious heritage and the legitimacy of Merovingian authority by means of his Trojan-origin myth.

The reference by both Fredegars to duces as rulers of the Franks during a period of many years after the death of Francio affirms the possibility that an uninterrupted line of kings was lacking. Because Fredegar II claims that the duces governed until a new dynasty of long-haired kings emerged as Frankish leaders, he is indicating that Priam, Frigas, and Francio were long-haired kings. The vogue of long-haired royalty was common among the Germanic peoples; however, the practice remained the prerogative of the Merovingians long after it disappeared from the other tribes.

Fredegar produced the names of Theudemar and Ricimer from a statement in Gregory's Historia Francorum asserting that "Theudemar" was the son of "Richemer" and a long-haired king of the Franks (II.9). Ricimer, an actual Roman general of Visigothic and Suevic blood, was known as the Kingmaker, inasmuch as he raised up and demoted emperors in the last years of the Western Roman Empire. Gregory may have confused him with the Roman Egidius, the master-general of Gaul at the time of Ricimer. Egidius had been elected temporary king by the Franks to replace Childeric, the father of Clovis, who was exiled to Thuringia in central Germany. Gibbon explains the circumstances:

The Franks, who had punished with exile the youthful follies of Childeric, elected the Roman general for their king; . . . and when the nation at the end of four years repented of the injury which

they had offered to the Merovingian family, [Egidius] patiently acquiesced in the restoration of the lawful prince. (2, 320-21)

Faral claims that Fredegar confused the name of Troy, "ad instar Trogiae," with the modern German city of Xanten, located on the lower Rhine, which is "au voisinage d'une ancienne Colonia Trajana, dénommée Troja minor pendant tout le moyen age" (Légende 279).

Liber Historiae Francorum

The Chronicle of Fredegar and the Historia Francorum by Gregory of Tours are two of the three major works of history that profile the two and a half centuries of Merovingian rule, from 481 to 751. The third history of the Merovingians, the Liber Historiae Francorum, whose author is unknown, was written in 727 near Paris. Gregory's and Fredegar's works have enjoyed a better reputation among historians than the LHF, but they have been less popular. "This little book was the most widely read and the most frequently copied of all early medieval Frankish historical works" (Gerberding 3).

The LHF-author brings us another version of the Frankish Trojan-origin legend. Because his account is so unlike that of Fredegar, Gerberding concludes that the Frankish Trojan-origin stories were widespread and varied by the time the LHF-author wrote, and that Fredegar was not the inventor of the Frankish-Trojan legend (18). Here is an account of the first four books of the Liber Historiae Francorum:

Principium regum Francorum eorum que origine vel gentium illarum ac gesta proferamus. Est autem in Asia opidum Trojanorum, ubi est civitas quae Illium dicitur, ubi regnavit Aeneas. Gens illa fortis et valida, viri bellatores atque rebelles nimis,

inquieta certamina objurgantes, per gyrum finitima debellantes. Surrexerunt autem reges Grecorum adversus Aeneam cum multo exercitu pugnaveruntque contra eum caede magna, corruitque illic multum populus Trojanorum. Fugit itaque Aeneas et reclusit se in civitate Illium, pugnaveruntque adversus hanc civitatem annis decim. Ipsa enim civitate subacta, fugit Aeneas tyrannus in Italia locare gentes ad pugnandum. Alii quoque ex principibus, Priamus videlicet et Antenor, cum reliquo exercitu Trojanorum duodecim milia intrantes in navibus, abscesserunt et venerunt usque ripas Tanais fluminis. Ingressi Meotidas paludes, navigantes pervenerunt intra terminos Pannoniarum justa Meotidas paludes et coeperunt aedificare civitatem ob memoriale eorum appellaveruntque eam Sicambriam; habitaveruntque illic annis multis creveruntque in gentem magnam.

Eo itidem tempore, gens Alanorum prava ac pessima rebellaverunt contra Valentinianum, imperatorem Romanorum ac gentium. Tunc ille exercitum movit hostem magnam de Roma, contra eos perrexit, pugnam iniit superavitque eos atque devicit. Illi itaque caesi super Danubium fluvium, fugierunt et intraverunt in Meotidas paludas. Dixit autem imperator: "Quicumque potuerit introire in paludes istas et gentem istam pravam elegerit, concedam eis tributa donaria annis decim." Tunc congregati Trojani fecerunt insidias, sicut erant edocti ac cogniti, et ingressi in Meotidas paludes cum alio populo Romanorum, ejeceruntque inde Alanos percusseruntque eos in ore gladii. Tunc appellavit eos Valentinianus imperator Francos attica lingua, hoc est feros, a duritia vel audacia cordis eorum.

Igitur post transactos decim annos, misit memoratus imperator exactores una cum Primario duce de Romano senatu, ut darent consueta tributa de populo Francorum. Illi quoque, sicut erant crudeles et immanissimi, consilio inutile accepto, dixerunt ad invicem: "Imperator cum exercitu Romano non potuit eicere Alanos de latibulis paludarum, gentem fortem ac rebellem: nos enim, qui eos superavimus, quid solvimus tributa: Consurgamus igitur contra Primarium hunc vel exactoribus istis percutiamusque eos et auferamus cuncta quae secum habent et non demus Romanis tributa et erimus nos jugiter liberi." Insidiis vero praeparatis, interfecerunt eos.

Audiens hec imperator, in furore et ira nimis succensus, praecepit hostem commovere Romanorum et aliarum gentium cum Arestarco principem militiae, direxeruntque aciem contra Francos. Fuit autem ibi strages magna de uterque populo. Videntes enim Franci, quod tantum exercitum sustinere non possint, interfecti ac cesi, fugierunt; ceciditque ibi Priamus eorum fortissimus. Illi

quoque egressi a Sicambria, venerunt in extremis partibus Reni fluminis in Germaniarum oppidis, illucque inhabitaverunt cum eorum principibus Marchomire, filium Priamo, et Sunnone, filio Antenor; habitaveruntque ibi annis multis. Sunnone autem defuncto, acciperunt consilium, ut regem sibi unum constituerent, sicut ceterae gentes. Marchomiris quoque eis dedit hoc consilium, et elegerunt Faramundo, ipsius filio, et elevaverunt eum regem super se crinitum. Tunc habere et leges coeperunt, quae eorum priores gentiles tractaverunt his nominibus: Wisowastus, Wisogastus, Arogastus, Salegastus, in villabus quae ultra Renum sunt, in Bothagm, Salechagm et Widechagm. (SSRM, 241-44)

[Let us set forth the beginnings of the kings of the Frangi, their own origin, and that of the peoples as well as their deeds. In Asia there is a stronghold of the Trojans where a city called Ilium is in which Aeneas ruled. This people was strong and mighty, men exceedingly prone to warring again and again, provoking constant combat, and conquering the neighbouring lands all around them. But the kings of the Greeks rose up with a great army against Aeneas and they fought against him in a great slaughter and there a great army of Trojans fell. Aeneas fled and shut himself up in the city of Ilium and they fought against this city for ten years. For, after the city was captured, king Aeneas fled to Italy to engage peoples there for the fight. Others of the leading men, that is, Priam and Antenor, with the remaining Trojan army, 12,000 soldiers, boarded ships, escaped, and came to the banks of the river Don. And having entered the Sea of Azov, they arrived within the borders of the Pannonians adjacent to the Sea of Azov and they began to build a city to be a memorial to themselves and they called it Sicambria. And there they lived for many years and grew into a great people.

At the same time the depraved and evil people of the Alans rebelled against Valentinian, emperor of Romans and peoples alike. Then he raised a huge army and went out from Rome against them. He engaged them in battle, overcame them, and defeated them. Since they were defeated, they fled across the river Don and entered the Sea of Azov. Then the emperor said, 'Whoever shall be able to enter this marshland and to force out this evil people, for them I shall cancel tribute payments for ten years.' Then, having come together, the Trojans prepared ambushes and, as they had been taught to do that and as they also knew the area, they entered the Sea of Azov along with another army of Romans, drove the Alans from there, and cut them down with the sword. Then the Emperor Valentinian named them 'Franks' which means 'wild' in the Attic language because of the hardness and bravery of their hearts.

Therefore after ten years had passed, the above-mentioned emperor sent tax collectors together with Duke Primarius from the Roman senate in order to collect the customary tax from the Franci. They, however, because they were wild and uncivilized, having taken counsel to their own detriment, said one to another, 'The emperor with the Roman army was not able to eject the Alans, a strong and defiant people, from their hiding places in the marshlands. Why then should we, who conquered them, pay tribute? Let us therefore rise up against this Primarius and these collectors and let us destroy them and let us not pay taxes to the Romans and we shall be perpetually free.' And indeed they prepared ambushes and killed them.

When the emperor heard this he was consumed with fury and great anger. He ordered an army of Romans and other peoples with Aristarcus, the Princeps Militae, to be assembled and sent it against the Franci. And there was a great slaughter of each army. The Franci, who were being cut down and killed, saw that they could not resist such a great army and took to flight. And there Priam, the bravest of them fell. They therefore left Sicambria and came to the farthest reaches of the river Rhine in the strongholds of the Germanies. And here they settled with leaders Marchomir, Priam's son, and Sunno, the son of Antenor, and they lived there for many years. When Sunno died, they decided to establish one king for themselves just as other peoples had. Marchomir gave them this plan and they chose his son, Faramund, and raised him over them as their long-haired king. Then they began to keep the laws negotiated by the leaders of the people named Wisowastus, Arogastus, and Salegastus in their dwelling places beyond the Rhine, in Bothagm, Salechagm, and Widechagm.] (Gerberding 173-74)

The author, not unlike the two Fredegars, values the characteristic courage and independence of the Trojans as well as the significance of their kings. The original Frankish king, or leader, and his descendants intrigued all three writers, for they were the root of an honorable lineage. Priam is the ultimate source of the kings of the Franks in the three myths, although Priam, Friga, and Francio of the earlier myths are balanced against Priam, Marchomir, and Faramund of the LHF.

The LHF-author, like the first Fredegar, illustrates the consequence of the Romans in Frankish history. The Franks were closely associated with the Roman world and way of life, and their warriors were both allies and antagonists of the Roman military. Mythically the Romans are kinsmen, but because they are also adversaries, they are beneficial in exposing the fierceness and freedom-loving spirit of the Franks that the authors are eager to relate.

The relevance of Sunno and Marcomer is suggested by Gregory of Tours. Referring to the Historia of Sulpicius Alexander, he claims that the Franks invaded the Roman province of Germania under the leadership of Genobaud, Marcomer and Sunno (II.9). He further states that Marcomer and Sunno were royal leaders, or regales, of the Franks, being uncertain if regales means chieftains who exercised a kingly function or indeed true kings (II.9).

One of Gregory's sources for an account of Marcomer and Sunno may have been Claudian, a Roman poet of the late fourth century, who wrote that the Ripuarian Franks of the Middle Rhine had recently revolted under Marcomer and Sunno (Wallace-Hadrill 151). Ian Wood reports that "Sulpius Alexander recorded conflict in 389 between Arbogast, a Frank who held high military office in the empire, and two regales, or petty kings, of the Franks, Sunno and Marcomer . . ." (36).

In her remarks concerning the traditional code of laws of the Salian Franks, the lex Salica, Colette Beaune generally agrees with the LHF-author:

Quatre grands du royaume, choisis entre les Francs, Wisogast, Arogast, Salegast, Widogast, ont fixé par écrit la teneur de cette loi après trois assemblées, tenues dans les villages de Ratheim, Saleheim et Widoheim, situés outre-Rhin. Cela eut lieu 'sous le règne du premier roi des Francs chrétien [Clovis]' (264).

However, the LHF-author claims that the enactment of the Salic Law coincides with the establishment of Faramund as the first Frankish king. "Pour lui, Pharamond est le premier roi des Francs et la loi salique les premières lois de ce peuple" (Beaune 266). Because the LHF-author called Faramund a "long-haired king," that is, "elevaverunt eum regem super se crinitum," he is considered the first Merovingian, although his grandson, King Merovech, endowed the dynasty with his name.

The LHF-author may have taken his account of the Franks' residence in Pannonia after the fall of Troy from Gregory's Historia, which claims that the Franks came originally from Pannonia (II,9). The city of Sicambria that the Franks built in Pannonia may refer to a Roman legion post located near modern Budapest, for Gerberding claims that this location was actually known as Sicambria in the late medieval Hungarian national chronicles (21).

Because of the construction of the city of Sicambria by the Franks, Colette Beaune asserts that the Trojans are the ancestors of the "seigneurs défricheurs du XIIe siècle qui font surgir seigneuries nouvelles et villages fortifiés" (52). She terms the Franks "les Sycambriens" and concludes that their art was not only that of war, but also of "la clôture des villes" (24).

The term 'Sicamber' appeared in the Historia Francorum as an expression for 'Frank' at the time of the baptism of Clovis, as Gregory of Tours states that St. Rémy addressed the king of the Franks as 'Sicamber' (II, 31). Kurth lists several lives of saints and histories from the sixth and seventh centuries where "les Francs sont qualifiés de Sicambres" (525). He relates that "il suffit d'un coup d'oeil rapide sur ces divers textes pour se convaincre que tous, sans exception, prennent ici le mot de Sicambre comme un synonyme pur et simple de celui de Franc" (527).

The Sea of Azov was named the Palus Maeotis, the Maeotic Swamp, by the Romans, and because the Franks indeed did inhabit the swamps that were located on the lower Rhine, the author of the LHF may have had an inkling of primitive Frankish history. As to the location of the Alans near the river Don and the Sea of Azov, he managed to place them correctly (Gerberding 22). Ammianus Marcellinus contends that the Alans lived beyond the river Don, considered to be the boundary between Europe and Asia, and that raiding and hunting expeditions took them as far as the Sea of Azov (31,2).

Gerberding explains how the LHF-author may have obtained his geographical information:

These early medieval descriptions followed Roman and Greek cosmographical conceptions of the world and pictured it as a disc of land surrounded by the ocean. . . . [Asia] is separated from Europe and Africa by a line of water consisting of the river Don, the Sea of Azov, the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Nile. . . . The river Don (Flumen Tanais) and the Sea of Azov (Meotides Paludes) feature much larger than their actual size warrants; in fact they share the limelight with the Nile and the Mediterranean. (25-26).

A "Unique" Perspective

At the time that the Trojan-origin myths were being recorded in the Liber Historiae Francorum and Chronicle of Fredegar, the Frankish state was undergoing a period of comparative peace and unity after cycles of great civil unrest. Richard Waswo believes that peace is necessary for the development of culture, be it "of grain and grapes, of poems and philosophies" (31).

When the "first" Fredegar was writing in 613, Clotaire II was the sole king of the Franks after a century of several divisions and reunifications. After his death, his son Dagobert I, who had been ruler of the eastern Frankish kingdom of Austrasia, became king of the primary dominions of the Frankish kingdom, namely Austrasia, the western kingdom of Neustria, and Burgundy.

In the early eighth century when the Neustrian author of the Liber Historiae Francorum was writing, Charles Martel, a Carolingian and Austrasian, after 75 years of rois fainéants, became undisputed ruler of the Franks. He displaced the traditional Neustrian noble class, the Franci, though not the Merovingian king.

Fredegar and the LHF-author no doubt detected that times were relatively peaceful. Wallace-Hadrill writes that whether or not Fredegar was interested in unity, he was aware "that Clothar's sixteen years of sole rule were, on the whole, a happy time" (216). Because the LHF-author claims that the imprisoned Charles Martel escaped with the help of the

Lord (LHF-51), Gerberding asserts "that the author welcomed Martel's advent as an intervention of God and Martel himself as the strong man who could quell . . . the civil wars among the Franci" (171).

Aside from a cessation of hostilities, another feature of the period in which the origin myths were produced was the integration of cultures and factions. At the time that the two Fredegars were writing their Chronicle, although the Merovingian dynasty had been in existence for over 100 years, a distinct national consciousness was just beginning to form. A uniqueness was impossible in the early years of the dynasty, because "Roman traditions were too strong to allow national separatism to dominate the ideas of the new leaders" (Koht 265). By the early seventh century, "the new kingship, like the new age, is neither specifically Germanic nor Roman" (Wallace-Hadrill 209). The Franks had blended the various cultures into a distinctive French nation.

The Franks had now arrived at a particular stage of development that the Greeks and Romans had achieved at the time that their national origin myths were composed. The people of Greece were emerging from a "dark age" and evolving into an enlightened and powerful culture, and the Romans were ending 50 years of civil wars and embarking on a new era of peace and empire. Because the period of volatility and fluidity had temporarily ceased, the nation seized the opportunity to reflect on its history. Jacques Perret claims that a people recount the history of their origins only after the beginning of their importance and their strength

(xii). During its entire existence, the Merovingian kingdom had been the greatest state in western Europe, and "the reigns of Clothar II (584-629) and Dagobert I (623/29-39) can be seen as marking the apogee of Merovingian power, both at home and abroad" (Ian Wood 140). Fredegar I began writing his Chronicle with its Trojan-origin myth in 613, and Fredegar II composed his myth around the year 642.

Perret also concludes that it is only the important people who recount the history of their origins (xii). Gregory of Tours, the two Fredegars, and the LHF-author wrote primarily for and about the ruling classes. While these men were writing, the aristocracy happened to be literate and to surround itself with men of talent. In The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages, Thompson claims that "notwithstanding their coarseness and brutality the Merovingian kings were culturally above the level of the early Carolingians. . . . Whereas . . . very likely all of them were able to write, Pepin the Short was unable to do so, and Charlemagne did not learn to write until late in life" (5). However, the LHF-author contends that Charles Martel was both well-educated and effective in battle (LHF 49). Ian Wood gives us some idea of the education of the elite at the time of Fredegar:

Most royal officials would have had to read and write, and these skills seem to have been reasonably widespread among the political classes, and among the abler servants: although Merovingian Latin was not classically correct, there is nothing to suggest that illiteracy was the norm in the upper levels of society in the seventh century. The kings of the Merovingian period were unquestionably literate, which is more than can be said for many later medieval rulers. (155)

Although the Trojan-origin myth was not the basis of the Chronicle of Fredegar and the Liber Historiae Francorum, the reason for its inclusion is significant. It designates that unique stage of the Frankish nation's development when the Trojan pedigree became meaningful. For the Frankish ruling classes, known as the Franci, the origin myth meant a glorious and ancient lineage, thus dignifying their realm. It implied imperial destiny, thus lending legitimacy and power to the heirs. George Huppert claims that "it established one's blood relationship with the Romans. It justified one's title to the possession of parts of the Roman Empire" (227).

The Frankish nation was dawning on a new age, at least temporarily, and it needed a distinctive identification. This trademark of national identity was encompassed in an exceptional Trojan-origin myth. It characterizes the Franks as noble descendants of heroic figures, who are exiled from glorious Troy and travel west from Asia to the far reaches of the Rhine. The Franks are a courageous, warlike people whose principal aim is to remain free from subjugation but likewise unimpeded from vanquishing their neighbors. Their ancient kings and duces leave a proud and notable legacy for future generations of kings.

The Trojan-origin myth featured the Franks and their leaders prior to that period when they reached their Rhine homeland. It was the long-haired kings of the Merovingian dynasty who led the Franks into Roman Gaul. After years of war and conquest they founded a new Troy in France.

Clovis was the founder of the Frankish kingdom and the first Merovingian ruler, as he became king of both the Salian and the Ripurian Franks. Before his death in 511 most of present-day France and part of Germany were under his control. Fredegar II inserted into his résumé of Gregory's Historia an exclusive supernatural origin myth of the Merovingian family that is quite unlike the Frankish origin myth. He claims that Merovech, the grandfather of Clovis, is presumably conceived when his mother, the wife of Chlodio, goes swimming and encounters a sea-monster, called a Quinotaur. This remarkable tale suggests that the Merovingians sought to be distinctive from other Frankish dynasties (Jan Wood 39 & Wallace-Hadrill 220).

The Trojan-origin myth of the Franks differed from that of the Romans depicted in the Aeneid, in that the Franks lacked a single hero. Aeneas alone had characterized the Roman qualities of duty and obedience to country and the gods, whereas the Frankish kings and warriors collectively portrayed a fierce independence that symbolized the Frankish nation.

Historia Brittonum

In the early Middle Ages, the Britons of Wales also developed a Trojan-origin myth. Their myth evolves from the Aeneid more intimately than does that of the Franks. It was first recounted in the Historia Brittonum in the early ninth century, but its impact did not reach its full potential until Geoffrey of Monmouth included it in his Historia Regum Britanniae 300 years later.

Tatlock claims that "Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae is one of the most influential books ever written, certainly one of the most influential in the middle ages" (3). It is one of the the most important literary products of the Anglo-Norman period. "A pseudo-history of great imaginative power, it exercised a far-reaching influence which quite overshadowed that of the more sober histories of Geoffrey's contemporaries, William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon" (Wright vii). Nonetheless, the Historia Brittonum is taken seriously by modern historians and literary scholars. They look upon Geoffrey's Historia as a "learned fiction," whereas many have come to regard the Historia Brittonum as a meaningful source of early insular historical data (Dumville VII, 21).

Geoffrey does not cite as a reference the Historia Brittonum as he does Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum and Gildas' De Excidio Britanniae et Conquestu, but he does borrow a substantial amount of material from it, including the Trojan-origin myth. Possibly Geoffrey thought that the Historia Brittonum was Gildas' work (Dumville VII, 19).

The Trojan-origin myth of the Britons, first related in the Historia Brittonum, was written down about 829/30. The work itself is of complex origin but was composed partly by a cleric named Nennius from southeastern Wales, who, for the sake of convenience, will be represented as the author. Like Fredegar, Nennius attached deeds of dynastic rulers to the universal chronologies of Eusebius, Jerome, and Isidore (Waswo

51). He wished to defend and preserve British traditions and culture during a period of emerging national awareness.

The following is an outline of the Historia by chapters:

- 1-6. A summary of the six ages of the world.
- 7-9. A description of the island of Britain.
- 10-11. An origin story, tracing the Britons to an eponymous founder Bruto (or Britto). . . .
12. The arrival of the Picts.
- 13-15. Origin stories of the Scots (Irish).
16. A computation of the arrival date of the Saxons in Britain.
- 17-18. Origin story and genealogy connecting the Britons with Brito, a descendant of Japheth, son of Noah.
- 19-30. The career of Rome in Britain and the final departure of the Romans after an intermittent rule of 348 years.
- 31-49. The career, downfall, and death of the wicked British ruler, Guorthigirn. . . .
- 50-55. The life and deeds of St. Patrick, apostle to the Irish.
56. The battles of Arthur.
- 57-61. Saxon genealogies.
- 62-65. The war between the Britons and the Saxons to ca. 685.
66. Another computation of the dates of main figures in British history.
- 66-67. Cities and marvels of Britain; a set of annals containing various events of British history, and a set of Welsh genealogies. (Hanning 92)

David Dumville, who believes the Historia Brittonum was compiled by only one person, asserts that the author attempted to write a connected history of the Britons and "to provide a smooth account of a period of history by combining all the available, and often wildly contradictory, witnesses into a slick, coherent, and 'official' whole" (VII, 5). Both Faral and Dumville conclude that Nennius did not lack literary skill, but undertook to harmonize and interpret insufficient material. Believing that there is a learned element to the work, Faral writes:

L'Historia Brittonum n'est pas une composition de caractère populaire. Sans doute l'apparence est-elle autre. Le découpsu de la compilation telle que la présentent les textes récents et amplifiés, ce fatras de traditions incohérentes et puériles, ce style amorphe, indigent, incorrect, font penser au travail d'intelligences élémentaires, obscurcies par l'ignorance et la superstition. Pourtant, quand on considère l'œuvre dans sa forme première, on y découvre un effort de combinaison, des procédés d'information, des connaissances, des intentions, qui dénoncent en l'auteur un clerc de quelque expérience. . . . On voit . . . qu'on est en présence d'un travail d'un clerc, --non pas d'un clerc inerte et passif, mais d'un clerc qui s'efforce de comprendre et de concilier entre elles les données divergentes des auteurs qui l'avaient précédé. (Légende 73-74)

The ambiguous tradition that Nennius wished to understand and interpret was the origin myth of the Britons. He includes two origin myths, but it is his secular Trojan-origin myth that Geoffrey of Monmouth masterfully adapted for use and shaped into a more elaborate story.

The myth developed by the two British authors has a closer correlation with the Aeneid than did the origin myth of the Franks. Like the Aeneid, the origin myth of the Britons is chiefly a foundation myth, in which the Trojans were culture-bringers by means of conquest and settlement, while the Frankish origin myth was strictly a pedigree myth that affirms an illustrious ancestry and foreordained sovereignty (Waswo 49).

The writers of the Frankish origin myths were cognizant that historically the Franks encountered an established culture when they invaded their final homeland, Roman Gaul, in the fifth century AD, whereas Nennius and Geoffrey were writing about Britons who, on

reaching their final destination, seize a savage land during an era not long after the Trojan War.

Nennius may have derived his impetus for a British Trojan-origin myth from an awareness of the early Frankish myths. Faral claims that jealousy of Frankish power played a part in the creation of the Briton's tale:

L'instauration de l'empire franc était un fait accompli et la légende de l'origine troyenne du peuple franc brillait, comme un objet d'envie, aux yeux des nations, quand l'interpolateur de l'Historia Brittonum . . . s'est avisé de doter le peuple breton d'une ascendance semblable à celle des Francs: il a fait de Brutus, issu d'Énée, son premier prince et son éponyme. (Légende 174)

The following is Nennius' secular Trojan-origin myth of the Britons found in the Historia Brittonum:

Aeneas igitur post troianum bellum cum Ascanio filio suo venit ad Italiam et, superato Turno, accepit Labinam filiam Latini regis Italiae in coniugium, filii Fauni, filii Pici filii Saturni. Et post mortem Latini Aeneas regnum obtinuit Romanorum. (Ascanius autem Albam condidit, et postea uxorem duxit.) Et peperit Labinia Aeneae filium nomine Silvium.

Ascanius autem duxit uxorem quae concipiens gravida facta est. Et nuntiatum est Aeneae quod nurus sua gravida erat et praegnans. Et misit ad Ascanium filium suum ut metteret magum suum ad considerandam uxorem suam ut exploraret quid haberet in utero, masculum vel feminam. Et venit magus et consideravit uxorem. Et dixit Ascanio, Aeneae filio, quod masculum haberet in utero mulier et filius mortis erit quia occidet patrem suum et matrem et erit exosus omnibus hominibus. (Propter hanc vaticinationem occisus est magus ab Ascanio.) Sic evenit. In nativitate illius mulier mortua est. Et nutritus est filius, vocatumque est nomen eius Bruto. Post multum vero intervallum iuxta vaticinationem magi, dum ipse luderet cum pueris, ictu sagittae occidit patrem suum non de industria sed casu. Et per hoc expulsus est ab Italia. Et armillis fuit.

Et pervenit ad insulas maris Terreni, et expulsus est inde causa occisionis Turni quem Aeneas occidit. Et pervenit usque ad

Gallos, et ibi condidit civitatem Torronorum quae vocatur Turnis. Et postea ad istam pervenit insulam quae a nomine suo nomen accepit, id est Brittannia; et implevit eam cum suo genere et habitavit in ea. Ab illo autem tempore habitata est Bryttania usque in hodiernum diem. (Dumville 65-67)⁷

[Aeneas, after the Trojan war, came with his son Ascanius to Italy, and, having vanquished Turnus, took to wife Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, son of Faunus, son of Picus, son of Saturn; and after the death of Latinus, he obtained the kingdom of the Romans. (Ascanius, too, built Alba, and afterwards married a wife.) And Lavinia bore to Aeneas a son, named Silvius.

Ascanius, likewise, married a wife who conceived and became pregnant. And it was told Aeneas that his daughter-in-law was pregnant. And he sent to Ascanius his son that he should send his magician to examine his wife to search what she held in her womb, whether male or female. And the magician came and examined the wife. And he said to Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, that the woman held in her womb a male and he will be a son of death, because he will slay his father and his mother, and he will be hated of all men. (It was on account of this prediction that the magician was slain by Ascanius.) So it happened. The woman died at his birth. And the son was nurtured and was called by the name Brutus. Indeed after a long interval, in accordance with the prediction of the magician, while he was playing with others, he slew his father with the shot of an arrow, not of design but by accident. And, for this cause, he was driven from Italy.

And he came to the islands of the Tyrrhene Sea and was driven out by the Greeks on account of the death of Turnus, whom Aeneas had slain. And he arrived among the Gauls, and there founded the city of the Turoni, which is called Turnia (Tours). And afterwards he arrived in this island, which took a name from his name, to wit, Britain; and he filled it with his own stock, and he dwelt there. Besides, from that day Britain has been inhabited even to this day.] (Wade-Evans 38-39)

Brutus was forced to flee his community and become an exile, similar to Aeneas and the earliest ancestors of the Franks. Brutus, like his counterparts, also encountered adventure in other lands before

⁷ The excerpt from the *Historia Brittonum* is taken from the 'Vatican' Recension, Volume 3, edited in 1985 by David Dumville.

arriving in his new homeland. Nennius fails to mention if it is necessary for Brutus to subjugate this new land, but this first king of Britain does colonize it with his fellow Trojans and brings enduring civilization.

The British origin myth was created after the Britons were forced westward into Wales by the hostile Saxons, whereas the Franks had fashioned their myth while still a dominant people with militaristic designs. Richard Waswo, in The Founding Legend of Western Civilization From Virgil to Vietnam, claims that the origin myth of the Welsh, or Britons, had a more scholarly and cultural kind of legitimization, rather than a political one, because its emphasis was lineal succession, "to the exclusion of any direct claims or threats of ferocity or independence as made in the Frankish chronicles" (51). Both nations, however, used the premise of legitimization due to an ancient and prestigious genealogy. In the ninth century lineal succession was the type of political tool used as a means of propaganda by Welsh dynasties to sanction their particular claim to sovereignty.

Although Britons were considered a defeated people by the Saxons, perhaps the new dynasty established in North Wales in the early ninth century did not deem itself as such. It was a budding nation beginning to sense its prominence and power. A period of renewed scholarship and relative peace led to a scrutiny of its historic importance. Its claim to legitimacy was its hereditary descent, thus there was incentive to discover illustrious Trojan origins.

The early ninth century was a time of national revival among the Britons, especially in North Wales, or Gwynedd (Hanning 94-95). The king, an outsider, Merfyn Frych, founded a new dynasty in 825, and was succeeded by his son, Rhodri Mawr, who united the greater part of Wales into a single nation. North Wales was also beginning to emerge as a center of British learning. Nora Chadwick claims that Gwynedd had an enlightened court which had learned by exchange with both Ireland and the Continent the value of learning and letters, and the importance of the written word (16-17). Wade-Evans writes that "it would in fact seem as though the advent of Merfyn . . . inaugurated a new forceful period in the history of Wales. . . . In Ireland his court was known as a rendezvous of learned men . . ." (16).

North Wales was in touch with the native North British oral traditions (Chadwick 7), including the tales of Arthur from the post-Roman era. These heroic tales were preserved by professional bards down through the centuries, and were finally written down beginning in the eighth century. "Native heroic poetry . . . of a people in its defeat . . . served as a constant reminder of their splendid past, and a constant hope of a still greater future" (Chadwick 12). There arose in the ninth century the prospect that the Saxons might at last be driven from the island of Britain (Hanning 95). Nennius contributed to this anticipation with a fanciful account of his nation's heroic past.

Nennius possibly created a Trojan-origin myth because the British, as a conquered and dispersed people, could identify with the Trojans of

the Aeneid. Because Troy, in the guise of Rome, rose again to lost splendor thanks to the exploits of Aeneas and his descendants, Nennius conceivably hoped to inspire the Britons to renewed glory by illustrating for them that the two peoples were of a similar distinguished ancestry. Aeneas and thus the Romans set the precedent of imperial greatness for future generations.

In the preface of some manuscripts of the Historia Brittonum Nennius professes to be the disciple of Elvodugus, the man credited with having changed the date of Easter among the Britons in 768, consequently conforming the Celtic Church with the Church of Rome. Because Elvodugus is believed to be the Elfoddw who, in the Annales Cambriae of the tenth century, is referred to as the archbishop of Gwynedd, Nora Chadwick posits that Nennius could be associated with the same area (44). Dumville claims that Nennius was working in Gwynedd, perhaps at the court of the king, Merfyn Frych (VII, 21).

Scholarly activity helped to fortify the position of the new rulers in Gwynedd and to enhance their prestige, especially the documenting of genealogies and origin stories. Royal genealogies constituted a legal title to rule, and "membership of the relevant royal dynasty seems to have been the appropriate requirement for succession to the throne" (Dumville XV. 84). Merfyn, through his father, claimed to be of the lineage of Magnus Maximus, the last British ruler of Rome, who died in 388. Maximus represented the preeminent lineage to the Welsh, and Rome

meant a link with Troy. On the side of his mother, Merfyn was from the line of the founder of the First Dynasty of Gwynedd, the legendary Cunedda Wledig.

Apart from the Trojan-origin myth, Nennius related the foundation story of Cunedda Wledig, who with eight of his sons, left Manaw, a kingdom along the banks of the Firth of Forth, for Gwynedd in the post-Roman era. These "Men of the North" expelled the Irish settlers, and Cunedda became the head of a new dynasty. His sons and descendants brought unity to the Welsh nation and gave their names to other kingdoms throughout the land. Cunedda's example established the precedent for an outside dynasty coming to power in Gwynedd, particularly that of Merfyn, who was the founder of the Second Dynasty of Gwynedd.

Nennius was writing in a learned culture at a time of relative unity and stability, not unlike the situation in which Fredegar was writing his Chronicle. He was compiling a history and a Trojan-origin myth for a "nation" of the elite that was beginning to study its origins, similar to the performance of the authors of the Frankish myths when their "nation" realized that it was a singular people. The scholars and nobles of the Britons and Franks wanted to be the ancestral equals of the Romans, but at the same time they wanted to be independent of them, to have their own distinct culture and their separate glorious origin myth.

Robert Hanning asserts that "in the late eighth-and early ninth-century, [there] was an increased self-awareness and self-confidence on

the part of the learned segment of European society" (101). Because the origin myth, as a pedigree myth, conveyed the fact that the Welsh were Romans as well as Britons, the vital educated class envisioned their nation's potential for political and cultural influence.

Robert Leckie, writing in regard to the Anglo-Saxons of the early Middle Ages, states that the preserving of pedigrees, or genealogies, showed a desire on the part of individual enclaves to establish political identity. Their political survival depended on a degree of distinctiveness (11). In like manner the North Wales kingdom of Merfyn and Rhodri also developed its own distinguishing genealogy in order to maintain its survival and sovereignty.

Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace

In the ninth century Nennius drafted for the British "nation" a prestigious pedigree in the form of a unique origin myth. However, this particular Trojan-origin myth did not have much political impact until Geoffrey of Monmouth's enhancement of it in the twelfth century. Geoffrey's intended audience was the educated and ambitious Anglo-Norman aristocracy. They, not the Britons, were the beneficiaries of its political implications. Inasmuch as the Anglo-Normans were a people advancing toward nationhood, Geoffrey's accomplishment can be weighed by their acceptance of his chronicle as a great national myth (MacDougall 8).

The success of Geoffrey's Historia can also be measured by the number of extant manuscripts. "Nearly two hundred medieval

manuscripts are known to have survived, about fifty dating from the twelfth century" (Gransden 201). Jean Blacker adds that "there were many verse and prose translations into Welsh, Middle English, and Old French, Wace's Brut being one of the most popular of these in the twelfth century" (17). "The Brut is extant in twenty complete manuscripts and eight manuscripts containing twelve fragments" (Blacker 177).

Wace was a Norman born on the island of Jersey about 1110, educated at Caen and then in the Île de France. He returned to Caen where he wrote poems in Old French, romanz. "The enormous success of the Historia Regum Britanniae must have made Wace realise he could redirect his talents as a 'translator' from Latin into French" (Weiss xii). Wace was ambitious and thus wrote on timely subjects in order to gratify the new Angevin monarchy, Henry II and his queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and other members of the powerful aristocracy from whom he anticipated compensation. Margaret Houck describes Wace's audience and his design for writing :

He wrote to please those who could pay him for his writing; that is, for persons of wealth and standing. His readers—not clerics, but rather nobles with a taste for storytelling, rich amateurs of literature, men of affairs—obviously preferred poems in the vernacular to poems in Latin; the popularly spoken language, probably because it was more familiar, was more agreeable to their ears. (162)

Whereas Geoffrey tried to make propaganda sound like history, Wace believed that he was transmitting knowledge. In the first lines of the Roman de Brut, Wace emphasizes his concerned for imparting the truth. Resembling the writers of the Frankish Trojan-origin myth, Wace

seeks to recount the hereditary sequence of early kings:

Ki vult oïr e vult saveir
 De rei en rei e d'eir en eir
 Ki cil furent e dunt il vindrent
 Ki Engleterre primes tindrent,
 Quels reis i ad en ordre eü,
 E qui anceis e ki puis fu,
 Maistre Wace l'ad translaté
 Ki en conte la verité. (1-8)⁸

The Brut presented a history of the Britons to a far wider audience than did the Historia. It became more accessible to a public which might otherwise have never learned of it, for the majority of the Anglo-Norman nobility in 1155 could comprehend only French (Blacker 142). Jean Blacker further suggests that the vernacular also acted as a vehicle of cultural affirmation for Anglo-Normans (143). A history of the island composed in their own language helped to fuse the new masters with the land and its people.

Wace, unlike Geoffrey, did not see the Trojans as a privileged group, but rather as one of a series of peoples, like the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, who had occupied Britain over the centuries. Although he recognizes that the Britons are the descendants of Aeneas and thus of the Trojans, Wace is not interested in defining the political import of this ancestry.

The differing viewpoints of Geoffrey and Wace as to the integrity of the royal lineage is illustrated in a scene where the Greek king gives a

⁸ Our excerpts are from the 1999 edition of Wace's Roman de Brut: A History of the British by Judith Weiss, who consulted Ivor Arnold's 1938 edition of the Brut along with other authors' editions.

farewell speech to Brutus and his band of Trojans. The exiles have just defeated a Greek force and are preparing to set sail. Geoffrey's account of the address of the king, who has promised his daughter in marriage to Brutus, testifies to the author's admiration for Trojan honor and prestige:

... Solatium habere videor, quia filiam meam tante probitatis
adolescenti daturus sum, quem ex genere priami & anchise
creatum, & nobilitas quae in ipso pululat, & fama nobis cognita
declarat. Quis etenim alter exules troiae in servitutem tot &
tantorum principum positos eorundem vinculis eriperet? (l. xi)⁹

[I take some comfort in the knowledge that I am about to give my daughter to a young man of such great prowess. The nobility which flourishes in him, and his fame, which is well-known to us, show him to be of the true race of Priam and Anchises. Who other but he could have freed from their chains the exiles of Troy, when they were enslaved by so many mighty princes?] (Thorpe 63)

Wace's adaptation of the speech is harsh, conceding little to Trojan virtue:

Ma fille avrez, n'en pus faire el,
Mais a mun enimi mortel,
A cruel home e a felun
La durrai, u jo voille u nun;
Mais alques me confortera
Ke gentilz hom e pruz l'avra. (577-582)

Despite the fact that Wace acknowledges Brutus' courage and noble ancestry, he shows that goodness does not accompany nobility. Nevertheless, he sees the advantage of the king's daughter marrying a bold man of rank.

Wace's *Brut*, composed in lucid, simple Old French, consisted of 15,000 lines in eight-syllable couplets. The content did not differ

⁹ Quotes from the *Historia Regem Britanniae* are taken from Acton Griscom's 1929 *The Historia Regem Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth*.

substantially from that in Geoffrey's Historia. Margaret Houck states that "most of the alterations made by Wace have their source in his style as a narrative poet" (167). He frequently includes additional description and dialogue, and gives a more vivid portrayal of character. He adds drama to the events. Judith Weiss contends that Wace sometimes takes it upon himself to explain more than seems warranted, but this may have as much to do with the audience's needs as his own pedantry (xxiv). He clarifies passages for an audience less familiar with the ancient classics than were Geoffrey's readers.

An estimate of the different writing styles of Geoffrey and Wace can be determined from the Trojan-origin myth in each man's work. Geoffrey's myth is an embellishment of the secular origin myth in the Historia Brittonum:

Eneas post troianum bellum excidium urbis cum ascanio filio suo diffugiens, italiam navigio adivit. Ibi cum a latino rege honorifice receptus esset invidit turnus rex rutilorum & cum illo congressus est. Dimicantibus ergo illis praevaluit eneus peremptoque turno regnum italie & laviniam filiam latini adeptus est. Denique suprema die ipsius superveniente, ascanius regia potestate sublimatus, condidit albam super tyberim, genuitque filium cuius nomen erat silvius. Hic furtive veneri indulgens, nupsit cuidam nepti lavinie, eamque fecit praegnantem. Cumque id ascanio patricompertum esset, precepit magis suis explorare quem sexum puella concepisset. Certitudine ergo rei comperta dixerunt magi ipsam gravidam esse, puero qui patrem & matrem interficeret. Pluribus quoque terris in exilium peragratu ad summum tandem culmen honoris perveniret. Nec fefellit eos vaticinium suum. Nam ut dies partus accessit, edidit mulier puerum & in nativitate eius mortuus est. Traditur autem puer ille obstetrici & vocatur brutus. Postremo cum ter quini anni emensi essent, comitabatur juvenis patrem in venando, ipsumque inopino ictu sagitta interfecit. Nam dum famuli cervos in occursum eorum ducerent brutus telum in ipsos dirigere affectans, genitorem sub pectore percussit. Quo mortuo expulsum est ab italia indignantibus parentibus ipsum

tantum facinus fecisse. Exulatus ergo adiit partes grece & invenit progeniem heleni filii priami quae sub potestate pandrasi regis grecorum in servitutem tenebatur. (L. iii)

[After the Trojan war, Aeneas fled from the ruined city with his son Ascanius and came by boat to Italy. He was honourably received there by King Latinus, but Turnus, King of the Rutuli, became jealous of him and attacked him. In the battle between them Aeneas was victorious. Turnus was killed and Aeneas seized both the kingdom of Italy and the person of Lavinia, who was the daughter of Latinus.

When Aeneas' last day came, Ascanius was elected King. He founded the town of Alba on the bank of the Tiber and became the father of a son called Silvius. This Silvius was involved in a secret love-affair with a certain niece of Lavinia's; he married her and made her pregnant. When this came to the knowledge of his father Ascanius, the latter ordered his soothsayers to discover the sex of the child which the girl had conceived. As soon as they had made sure of the truth of the matter, the soothsayers said that she would give birth to a boy, who would cause the death of both his father and his mother; and that after he had wandered in exile through many lands this boy would eventually rise to the highest honour.

The soothsayers were not wrong in their forecast. When the day came for her to have her child, the mother bore a son and died in childbirth. The boy was handed over to the midwife and was given the name Brutus. At last, when fifteen years had passed, the young man killed his father by an unlucky shot with an arrow, when they were out hunting together. Their beaters drove some stags into their path and Brutus, who was under the impression that he was aiming his weapon at these stags, hit his own father below the breast. As the result of this death Brutus was expelled from Italy by his relations, who were angry with him for having committed such a crime. He went in exile to certain parts of Greece; and there he discovered the descendants of Helenus, Priam's son, who were held captive in the power of Pandarus, King of the Greeks.] (Thorpe 54-55)

The style is terse and concise. Geoffrey borrowed the theme from Nennius but reworked it to accommodate an educated twelfth-century audience. Much of the early narrative reflects the *Aeneid*, but the story of Brutus is unique to the Britons. The *Aeneid* does relate, however, that

Helenus did arrive in Greece. Virgil lets Aeneas describe the circumstances:

Hic incredibilis rerum fama occupat auris
Priamiden Helenum Graias regnare per urbes
coniugio Aecidae Pyrrhi sceptrisque potitum
et patrio Andromachen iterum cecidisse marito. (3.294-97)¹⁰

[An unbelievable story reached our ears:
That Helenus, the son of Priam, now
Ruled over cities of the Greeks, as heir
To Pyrrhus' wife and power, Andromachë
Had found again a husband of her nation.] (Fitzgerald 76)

Pandarus, however, appears to be an invention of Geoffrey.

Wace translated and adapted Geoffrey's version for a generation that he considered not well acquainted with the Aeneid. The following is Wace's lengthy paraphrase of Geoffrey's account:

Si cum li livres le devise,
Quant Greu ourent Troie conquise
E eissillié tut le país
Pur la vengeance de Paris
Ki de Grece out ravi Eleine,
Dux Eneas a quelque peinne
De la grant ocise eschapa.
Un fiz aveit k'il en mena
Ki aveit nun Ascanius;
N'aveit de fiz ne fille plus.
Ke de parenz, ke de maisnees,
Ke d'aveir out vint nés chargees.
Par mer folead lungement;
Maint grant peril, maint grant turment
E maint travail li estut traire.
Emprès lung tens vint en ltaire:
ltaire esteit dunc apelee
La terre u Rome fu fundee.
N'ert de Rome encor nule chose,
Ne fu il puis de bien grant pose.

¹⁰ The passage is taken from Johannes Götte's 1960 edition of Aeneis by P. Vergilius Maro.

Eneas out mult travaillied,
 Mult out sigle, mult out nagied,
 Mainte grant mer out trespassee
 E mainte tere avironee.
 En Itare est venue a rive
 En une terre plenteive,
 Bien pruef d'illuec u Rome siet,
 La u li Teivres en mer chiet.
 Latins, uns reis, k'iloec maneit,
 Ki tut cel regne en pais teneit,
 Riches huem e mananz asez,
 Mais velz esteit e trespassez,
 Ad Eneam mult enoré.
 De sa terre li ad duné
 Grant partie sur la marine;
 E estre le gré la reïne
 Li pramist sa fille a duner
 E de sun regne enheriter.
 N'aveit fors li enfant ne eir,
 [Aprés lui deveit tut avoir].
 La fille ert mult bele meschine,
 Si ert apelee Lavine,
 Mais prendre la Turnus
 Ki de Toscane ert sire e dux.
 Cil Turnus, ki ert sis veisins,
 Riches huem mult, sout ke Latins
 Sa fille a Eneam dunout;
 Dolenz en fu, envie en out,
 Kar il l'aveit lunges amee
 E ele lui ert graantee.
 A Eneam grant guerre en fist,
 Cors contre cors bataille en prist;
 Chevaliers ert hardiz e forz,
 Mais il en fu vencuz e morz.
 Dunc out Eneas la meschine,
 Reis fu e ele fu reïne.
 Ne trova puis ki li neüst
 Ne de rien li contr'esteüst. (9-66)

Wace briefly remarks on the circumstances of the Trojan War, then embellishes Geoffrey's narrative on Aeneas, his escape from Troy, his wanderings until his arrival in Italy, and his winning of Lavinia and of the

kingdom of her father, Latinus. After noting the reigns of Aeneas and his son Ascanius, Wace proceeds with an account of Silvius, Ascanius' son:

Il out amee une meschine
 Celeement, niece Lavine;
 Od li parla, cele conçut.
 Kant Aschanius l'aperçut,
 Venir fist ses sortisseors
 E ses sages devineors;
 Par els, ço dist, vuleit saveir
 Kel enfant deit la dame avoir.
 Cil unt sorti de deviné
 E ço unt en lur sor trouvé
 Ke un fiz ke la dame avra
 Sun pere e sa mere ocirra
 E en eissil chaciez sera,
 Mais puis a grant honur vendra.
 Issi fu veir comë il distrent
 E si avint cum il pramistrent,
 Kar al terme ke il nasqui
 Murut la mere, e il vesqui:
 Morte fu de l'enfantement
 E li fiz fu nez sauvement,
 Si li fu mis cist nun Brutus.
 Quinze anz aveit e nient plus,
 Kant od sun pere en bois ala,
 Ki a male ure l'i mena.
 A mal eür ensemble alerent,
 Une herde de cerfs troverent.
 Le peres al fiz les aceinst
 E li fiz a un fust s'estreinst;
 A un cerf traist k'il avisa,
 Mais la saiete trespasa;
 Sun pere feri si l'ocist,
 Mais de sun gré nient nel fist.
 Tuit si parent s'en coruserent
 E del regne Brutun chacerent.
 Cil passa mer, en Grece ala;
 De cels de Troie iluec trova
 Tute la lignee Eleni
 Un des fiz al rei Priami,
 E d'autres lignages asez
 Ke l'on aveit enchaitivez. (115-154)

Brutus' birth brings tragedy to his father, Silvius, and to his mother, the niece of Lavinia. Wace's account of the misfortune of Brutus and the cause of his exile is remarkably similar to Geoffrey's report, which in turn closely parallels Nennius' singular story, although Nennius did not proclaim Silvius the father of Brutus in all versions of his origin myth.

Before arriving at their final destination in Britain, Brutus and his fellow Trojans face many challenges. In Greece Brutus gains a reputation for military prowess, and before long wins the freedom of his fellow Trojans being held captive there. With Brutus as their leader the Trojans then set sail with a huge fleet across the Mediterranean Sea, through the Pillars of Hercules, along the coast of France, where they cast anchor at the mouth of the Loire. They battle native French assailants, appropriate much booty, and finally sail to the "promised land" of Britain.

Geoffrey outlines the condition of Britain before and after the Trojans arrive:

Erat tunc nomen insulae albion quae a nemine exceptis paucis hominibus gigantibus inhabitabatur. Ameno tamen situ locorum & copia piscosorum fluminum nemoribusque preelecta; adfectum habitandi bruto sociisque inferebat. Peragratiss ergo quibusque provinciis, repertos gigantes ad cavernas montium fugant. Patriam donante duce sortiuntur. Agros incipiunt colere, domos edificare, ita ut in brevi tempore terram ab ovo. Denique brutus de nomine suo insulam brittanniam appellat, sociosque suos brittones. Volebat enim ex derivatione nominis memoriam habere perpetuam. Unde postmodum loquela gentis quae prius troiana sive curvum regem nuncupabatur, dicta fuit brittannia. . . . Diviso tandem regno, adfectavit brutus civitatem aedificare. Adfectum itaque suum exsequens circumvixit totius patrie situm, ut congruum locum

inveniret. Pervenirens ergo ad thamensem fluvium deambulavit litora, locumque nactus est proposito suo perspicuum. Condidit civitatem itaque ibidem, eamque troiam novam vocavit. . . . Postquam igitur praedictus dux praedictam urbem condidit, dedicavit eam civibus iure victoris, deditque legem qua pacifice tractarentur. Regnabat tunc in iudea heli sacerdos, & archa testamenti capta erat a philisteis. Regnabant etiam in troia filii hectoris, expulsi posteris antenor. Regnabat in italia silvius enee enee filius avunculus bruti latinorum tertius. (l. xvii-xviii)

[At this time the island of Britain was called Albion. It was uninhabited except for a few giants. It was, however, most attractive, because of the delightful situation of its various regions, its forests and the great number of its rivers, which teemed with fish; and it filled Brutus and his comrades with a great desire to live there. When they had explored the different districts, they drove the giants whom they had discovered into caves in the mountains. With the approval of their leader they divided the land among themselves. They began to cultivate the fields and to build houses, so that in a short time you would have thought that the land had always been inhabited.

Brutus then called the island Britain from his own name, and his companions he called Britons. His intention was that his memory should be perpetuated by the derivation of the name. A little later the language of the people, which had up to then been known as Trojan or Crooked Greek, was called British, for the same reason. . . .

Once he had divided up his kingdom, Brutus decided to build a capital. In pursuit of this plan, he visited every part of the land in search of a suitable spot. He came at length to the River Thames, walked up and down its banks and so chose a site suited to his purpose. There then he built his city and called it Troia Nova. . . .

When the above-named leader Brutus had built the city about which I have told you, he presented it to the citizens by right of inheritance, and gave them a code of laws by which they might live peacefully together. At that time the priest Eli was ruling in Judea and the Ark of the Covenant was captured by the Philistines. The sons of Hector reigned in Troy, for the descendants of Antenor had been driven out. In Italy reigned Aeneas Silvius, son of Aeneas and uncle of Brutus, the third of the Latin Kings.] (Thorpe 72-74)

Wace likewise shows the culture-bringing character of the Trojans:

Quant la terre fud neïee
Des gaianz e de lur lignee,
Le Troien s'aseürerent,
Maisuns firent, terres arerent,

Viles e burcs edifierent,
 Blez semerent, blez guaainerent.
 La terre aveit nun Albion,
 Mais Brutus li chanja sun nun,
 De Bruto, sun nun, nun li mist,
 Bretainne apeler la fist;
 Les Troïens, ses compainuns
 Apela, de Bruto, Bretuns

...
 Bien tost fu la gent si creüe
 E si par la terre expandue,
 Vis vus fust que lunc tens eüst
 Que Bretainne poplee fust.
 Brutus esguarda les montainnes,
 Vit les valees, vit les plainnes,
 Vit les mores, vit les boscages,
 Vit les eues, vit les rivages,
 Vit les champs, vit les praeries,
 Vit les porz, vit les pescheries,
 Vit sun pople multepleier,
 Vit les terres bien guainier,
 Pensa sei que cité fereit
 E que Troie renovelerait.
 Quant il out quis leu covenable
 E aaisiez e delitable,
 Sa cité fist desur Tamise;
 Mult fud bien faite e bien asise.
 Pur ses anceisors remembrer
 La fist Troie Nove apeller;

...
 A cel terme que jeo vus di
 Ert de Judee prestre Heli,
 E Philistin en lor contree
 Ourent l'arche e la lei portee.
 Quant Brutus out sa cité fete
 E de la gent grant masse atraite,
 Citedeins i mist e burgeis
 Si lur duna preceps e leis
 Ke pais e concorde tenissent
 Ne pur rien ne se mesfeïssent. (1169-80, 1205-24, 1247-56)

The founding hero, Brutus, and his compatriots, after removing the natives, cultivate the land, instill the British language, build cities, including a new Troy, and establish a code of laws.

The giants represent uncivilized beings that the culture-bringers must destroy before settling the land. The fact that the island will be devoid of inhabitants other than the Trojans implies that all Britons, being from the same bloodline, were able to trace their lineage back to Rome and Troy.

The Trojan-origin myth in the Brut and the Historia is both a pedigree myth and a foundation myth. As a pedigree myth it confers status and distinction on a people by virtue of their genealogy, granting them the authority to dominate. This genealogy may be fictitious or, as Tatlock suggests, it may be a pedigree of patriotism. As a foundation myth, the Trojan-origin myth likewise bestows dominion. Brutus and his fellow Trojans bring civilization to a primitive land and rule it as a resurrected Troy.

Colette Beaune reveals that in their origin myths the French began to grant civilizing impetus to Trojan ancestors later than did Geoffrey and Wace to the Britons. With the passage of time the Franks began to be perceived as transmitters of culture. Beaune, paraphrasing a twelfth-century romance, Parthonopeus de Blois, shows the civilizing role of the Franks. The Merovingian prince speaks of his ancestors:

Troie fut moult de grand noblesse, de grand honneur, de grande richesse, plantée de chevaliers. . . . France avait lors nom Galles, n'y avait châteaux ne tours, ne nobles cités, ne beaux bourgs. Ainsi demeurait toute la gent éparsément. . . . Le pays de France était gastine, de bois plaine. N'y avait roi ne duc ne comte. Marcomir leur fit fermer riches châteaux et fortes cités et leur enseigna à vivre ensemble. (51)

The Frankish myths in time evolved so as to incorporate all the peoples of France, namely the Gauls, into the Trojan-origin myth. Like the part played by Brutus and the Britons, the civilizing role of the Trojan founders in France was expressed by the construction of towns and cities, the appropriation of a language, and the mandating of laws to maintain peace and harmony. Beaune stipulates the principal cultural contributions of France's Trojan forefathers:

Après 1300, les mérites de la civilisation gauloise que l'on redécouvre lentement sont systématiquement portés au crédit des Troyens, dont le rôle civilisateur se trouve grandi. Ce rôle s'exprime surtout dans trois domaines, la fondation et la fortification des villes, la supériorité de législation et enfin la langue. (52)

In the Historia and the Brut, the concepts of imminent imperialism and culture-building precede the landing in Britain of Brutus and the other Trojan escapees. In a message delivered to the band of exiles during a brief stop on a Mediterranean island, the goddess Diana reveals that their future home is a worthy site for reviving Troy and a new prestigious line of kings. The following excerpt is Geoffrey's account of Diana's words:

Brute sub occasu solis, trans gallica regna,
Insula in Oceano est, habitata gigantibus olim.
Nunc deserta quidem, gentibus apta tuis.
Illa tibi fietque tuis locus aptus in aevum.
Hec erit & natis altera troia tuis.
Hic de prole tua reges nascentur, & ipsis
Totius terre subditus orbis erit. (l. xi)

[Brutus, beyond the setting of the sun, past the realms of Gaul, there lies an island in the sea, once occupied by giants. Now it is empty and ready for your folk. Down the years this will prove an abode suited to you and to your people; and for your descendants

it will be a second Troy. A race of kings will be born there from your stock and the round circle of the whole earth will be subject to them.] (Thorpe 65)

Wace's paraphrase closely conforms to the original:

Ultre France, luinz dedenz mer
Vers Occident, purras trover
Une ille bone e abitabile
E a maneir mult delitable.
Bone est la terre a cultiver,
Gaiant i soelent abiter.
Albion ad non, cele avras,
Une Troie nove i feras.
De tei vendra reial ligniede
Ki par le mund iert esalciade. (681-90)

Wace's expression, "reial ligniede ki par le mund iert esalciade," as well as Geoffrey's statement, "ipsis totius terrae subditus orbis erit," may be suggesting the coming greatness of the present audience, the powerful Anglo-Norman nobles, but the language surely intimates the future glory of Arthur and his mastery over most of western Europe. The introduction of the exploits of Arthur set a precedent for the scheme of a dominant Britain. By showing the British to be a once-great people with extensive territories Wace and Geoffrey could not only raise the status of this distinguished race in the eyes of their new Norman overlords but also suggest a model to the Norman kings in their imperialistic ambitions (MacDougall 7).

Wace translated the *Historia* at the beginning of the Angevin monarchy, his incentive no doubt to support Henry's political purposes. Even by the time of his coronation Henry held vast territories in France and ruled over one of the most extensive realms in western Europe. "It is

not unlikely that Wace wrote the Brut (finished within two years of Henry's adoption as heir) at the suggestion or to invite the favor of the new king Henry II" (Tatlock 468).

Geoffrey, on the other hand, began writing in 1135, just before the death of Henry I, but the majority of his work was composed during a time of civil conflict. Henry's nephew, Stephen, and daughter, Matilda, the mother of Henry II, were both contending for the throne. David Rollo asserts that although writing in the mid-1130's, "[Geoffrey's] vision of king commanding an international imperium proved prophetic. . . . Henry [II] came close to matching in reality the empire that Arthur had won in writing" (109).

Jacques Perret's thesis, that a people possesses a history of its origins only when it has acquired a historic significance and recounts the history of its origins only when it has acquired importance and strength, applies to England during the reigns of Henry I and Henry II. But what about the nearly 20 years of civil war during the reign of Stephen? Jean Blacker claims that Geoffrey included internecine struggle in the Historia as a practical political lesson for the English monarchy. She states that "present and future kings were to learn from the example of the beleaguered Britons that the only way to secure peace is through united rule" (96).

Although Geoffrey wrote most of the Historia after Henry I's death in December of 1135, he indeed began work on it before 1135 (Wright xii). Because the Trojan-origin myth is recounted at the beginning of the

work, Geoffrey presumably composed it during a time of unity and tranquility, for Henry I was a capable leader who secured harmony in England and relative stability in Normandy.

An era of peace and harmony along with strong leadership and a renewal of learning was a favorable environment for the composition of the Trojan-origin myth embraced by the Anglo-Norman aristocracy. These comparative newcomers were searching for an identity that was neither traditionally Norman nor English. The *Historia* and the *Brut* offered an ancient culture with a glorious past that the present age adopted and consequently embodied in the development of their self-conception as a nation. The origin myth was the principal phase of that history that drew the disparate peoples of England together into a single nation, although the dominant reign of Arthur and the resplendence of his court energized to a greater extent the imperial ideology of the Angevin monarchy.

Twelfth-century Wales

At the time that Geoffrey was composing his history of the Britons, North Wales, or Gwynedd, was experiencing another revival of learning and relative calm. The environment was not unlike that of the early ninth century when Nennius composed his Trojan-origin myth. K.L. Maund writes the following about the new Gwynedd dynasty:

Gruffudd ap Cynan, king of Gwynedd 1095-1137, occupies a unique place in Welsh history. . . . In re-establishing the kingdom of Gwynedd, he acted on the wider stage of Anglo-Norman politics, and survived where more traditional Welsh rulers failed. In doing this, he also refounded the hegemony of the dynasty of Rhodri

Mawr in Gwynedd, giving rise both to a direct line of succession . . . and to a new ideology of dynastic legitimacy. . . . The thirty years of comparative stability with which his reign ended seem also to have encouraged a new growth in Welsh literature and creativity; and his reign is often looked upon as a literary 'golden age'. (ix)

Like Merfyn Frych in the ninth century, Gruffudd was an intruder in Gwynedd. He was brought up in Ireland, the son of a Welsh nobleman and a Scandanavian princess (Williams 171). Maund's phrase, "giving rise . . . to a new ideology of dynastic legitimacy," assuredly means a renewed interest in genealogy in order to justify the new aristocratic social order.

J.E. Caerwyn Williams declares that Gruffudd made use of the Welsh bards, "an institution and a part of the structure of society," to sing his praises. Williams states that "it is easy to believe that his military, political and cultural influence did a great deal to re-animate the tradition of praise-poetry and to confirm the poets in their role as the propagandists . . ." (171). They were encouraged to promote his agenda of raising the level of general culture "in a country that cannot have been very flourishing either economically or culturally in the immediate past" (171).

A biography of Gruffudd written soon after his death, entitled Historia Gruffud vab Kenan, depicts his role as culture-bringer:

Then every kind of good increased in Gwynedd and the people began to build churches in every park therein, sow woods and plant them, cultivate orchards and gardens, and surround them with fences and ditches, construct walled buildings, and live on the fruits of the earth after the fashion of the men of Rome. Gruffudd also built large churches in his own major court, and held his courts and feasts always honourably . . . (Williams 172).

Obviously the author was influenced by Geoffrey's Historia, but whether or not Geoffrey was influenced by the renewal of learning and stability in North Wales is difficult to determine. Although Geoffrey was from Wales and was a patriot, he spent most of his life in Oxford. He was ambitious, and his patrons were some of the most powerful and learned Anglo-Normans of his time. At the end of his life he was granted a bishopric at St. Asaph in North Wales, but no evidence exists that he ever served there. Tatlock suggests that Geoffrey was selected because "naturally a man of loyalty to the crown and strong Norman connections and sympathies would be the logical bishop" (442).

Jean Blacker states that Geoffrey's purpose in writing the Historia was "to show that, although the Britons had the most legitimate claim to lordship over Britain on account of their Trojan heritage, they lost control over the island because they continually fought among themselves" (96). After 1135 and the death of Henry I, Geoffrey concentrates on the internecine struggles amongst the legendary British royalty. This civil discord and familial conflict resembles the existent circumstances in England in the late 1130's but not necessarily the current state of affairs in North Wales. Yet Geoffrey was very cognizant of the turbulent past history of the Welsh; thus, he may have been alerting his former countrymen.

Conclusion

Each Trojan-origin myth included in the chronicles of this chapter was a "learned fiction," rather than a grass-roots development. Each

myth most likely constituted some kind of oral tradition, especially among the Welsh and North Britons, but each was in the end formally composed to enhance the prestige and power of the ambitious and educated elite. Each myth was invariably created to provide a unique identity for a "nation" just beginning to comprehend its significance and strength during an interval of political stability and cultural vitality.

The "nations" of the Franks, the Britons, and the Anglo-Normans embodied characteristics of both the Homeric Greek and Trojan "nations." They were comprised of a coalition of states which hoped to preserve shared traditions and culture, and likewise, each was united by blood ties and ruled by a royal family whose strength and stability required an unbroken line of heirs.

The origin myths created the basis for the political idea of inherent supremacy and status. The Franks were shown to be fiercely independent fighters, equal to or surpassing the Romans, who had license to subjugate and rule. Anglo-Normans, by adopting the origin myth of the culture-building Britons as well as their most celebrated king, Arthur, acclaimed themselves worthy of imperialism.

For the most part, Trojan-origin myths emerged at a specific period of time when blended cultures had at length attained a distinct level of development so that a national consciousness could take shape. A period of national unity contributed to the creation of the myths, but correspondingly the myths helped to sustain that unity. They not only

connected people to ancient and heroic events and personages but also shaped a foundation for ideologies that bound men together into a society (MacDougall 1).

Splendid and romantic images of famous Trojan ancestors helped to unite one by one the Frankish, British, and Anglo-Norman "nations." Hopes and aspirations mounted from the words of the authors of the origin myths. The courtly audience was enchanted and made to dream of renewed glory and power. The vision was a new Troy, or a new Rome!

CHAPTER 4
CHIVALRY AND COURTOISIE IN THE ROMAN DE BRUT
AND THE ROMAN DE TROIE

Shaping a System of Values

Benoît de Sainte-Maure, in his Roman de Troie, takes advantage of the Trojan-origin myths of the Franks and the Britons for his own literary designs, as Wace had earlier exploited the Trojan-origin myth of the Britons in his Roman de Brut. The Trojan heroes and heroines in the Troie as well as their progeny in the Brut, especially King Arthur and his court, are shown to be models of chivalry and courtoisie for twelfth-century aristocratic audiences. Because the aristocracy of France and England considered themselves descendants of the ancient and glorious race who participated in the fall of Troy, Benoît uses Trojan heroic and courtly archetypes for the purpose of instructing his audience, while Wace features celebrated Trojan offspring. The authors were part of the wide effort in the twelfth century to educate the laity, permeating traditional warrior values with courtly ideals (Jaeger, The Origins of Courtliness 196).

The splendid city of Troy, revived throughout the ages by the Romans, Franks, and Britons, becomes the ideal and the source of future nations. As was stated in the previous chapter, a "nation" cognizant of

its unique identity and actively growing in dignity and influence seeks a legend that might confirm its pride of ancestry. Mythical Troy is represented by Benoît and Wace as the cradle of chivalry and courtoisie. The chivalric and courtois codes of behavior served as ethical standards for the Anglo-Norman and Angevin aristocracy. At the same time that the Trojan-origin myths legitimized the authority of the aristocracy due to its lineage and patrimony, the value systems of chivalry and courtoisie afforded this upper class a cultural standard of refinement.

For the most part, the Trojan heroes of Wace and Benoît are images of the chivalric/courtois ideal. They are designed to exhibit a continuity from the remote past to the present-day twelfth century. The Trojan virtues of valor and honor were believed to be transmitted through the bloodline, but "the personal element in the courtly virtues . . . requires, besides birth, proper training" (Auerbach 134). The heroes of the romances are the designated models of approved courtly behavior. With the depiction of their chivalrous deeds, ancient heroes taught by example. They were designed to be a civilizing force, in that they exemplified lessons in modesty, humanity, elegance, moderation, and respectfulness. "Nobility was inherited, but courtliness of demeanour was the product of education, of nurture" (Burnley 53).

Because it was utilized as an origin myth, the Troy Tale influenced "national" identity, but it also provided uniqueness inasmuch as it was adapted as a mechanism for courtly comportment. High society looked

to its Trojan roots for guidance. Gabrielle Spiegel, in her book, Romancing the Past, a consideration of the empowering of a "nation" through the medium of a hereditary code of behavior, states that cultural components of ancient history were sought by the twelfth-century aristocracy, in order to interpret its own cultural performance against that of the ancients (101). If a knight of the twelfth century acted correctly, he assumed that he was adhering to a code of ethics practiced by the allegedly historical Trojans or by their illustrious heirs, chiefly the Romans or King Arthur and his court.

The glorious deeds of the Trojans and their successors described in the Aeneid and the other origin myths encouraged the twelfth-century aristocracy to judge themselves descendants of this heroic and ancient race. At the same time, Wace's Brut and Benoît's Troie galvanized this same audience to seek instruction from their noble ancestors in the realm of chivalry and courtly refinement. These unique tales about distinguished forefathers helped to frame belief systems that joined high society into a "nation." This "nation" embraced traits emblematic of both the Homeric Greeks and Trojans. By virtue of their practice of chivalry and courtoisie, the noble class, like the Greeks, shared common customs and a common spirit; and as descendants of the Trojans, this elite could share with their ancient ancestors flawless bloodlines that secured power and prestige.

History is an integral factor in the forming of a system of values. In the twelfth century, history was written by members of the elite for the

elite (Gillingham xxiv). However, history was transformed into legend and myth by a ruling class looking to antiquity for ethical reassurance and political legitimization. By evoking the virtuous conditions of the heroic past, the aristocracy sought to renew a thread of continuity, which ultimately led to a sense of moral superiority (Spiegel 82). In the literature of the twelfth century, praiseworthy ancestors not only passed on political power but also bequeathed a legacy of glory, of "honor," of which their heirs were expected to show themselves worthy (Duby, The Chivalrous Society 156). Because the mythic, idealized past was held to be historically "true," it was potentially recoverable (Spiegel 97). Therefore, it was secular literature that became the means for the renewal of Antiquity, as it provided heroic and courtly models that the aristocracy could emulate.

The import of chivalry and courtoisie for the Anglo-Norman-Angevin elite in 1155 and 1165, the approximate respective dates for the Brut and the Troie, was equal to the significance of an origin myth for the seventh- and eighth-century Franks and for the ninth- and twelfth-century Britons because the very distinction of a particular people was at stake. The twelfth-century English and French aristocracy was a nation unto itself whose identity lay not only in its lineage but also in its chivalric and courtois way of life. C. Stephen Jaeger, in The Origins of Courtliness, claims that although the romance created courtly values rather than mirrored them, the ethical elements of the ideal of chivalry did not appear out of thin air but had long been a social reality in the

lives of the courtiers (209). Literature like the Brut and the Troie, which depicted courtly and chivalric patterns of behavior, was composed at this particular time in history because of an interest in a glorious national past, but not necessarily the same interest that inspired the authors of the origin myths. Fredegar, Nennius, and Geoffrey of Monmouth sought to prove legitimation for their particular kings and "nations," while Wace and especially Benoît, although capitalizing on the Trojan-origin myths, attempted to use examples from the heroic and honored past to enlighten their audiences. In his Prologue, Benoît explains that he must tell the true story of the lofty deeds accomplished by Troy, as well as of its destruction, so that all may benefit from it:

Qui set e n'enseigne o ne dit
Ne puet muër ne s'entrobli;
E sciënce qu'est bien oïe
Germe e florist e frutefie.

Mout est l'estoire riche e granz
E de grant uevre e de grant fait.
En maint sen avra l'om retrait,
Saveir com Troie fu perie,
Mais la verté est poi oïe. (21-24, 40-44)¹¹

The twelfth century enjoyed a renaissance of secular learning that pursued the wisdom of the ancient authors. Barbara Nolan writes that the French romanciers interrogate hypothetical or possible rules for secular ethical conduct. In so doing, they . . . endorse the prestige of the Latin books from which they 'translate' as repositories of useful

¹¹ Excerpts from the Roman de Troie are taken from Léopold Constans' Le Roman de Troie, edition 1904-1912.

academic. . . wisdom" (9). By means of their literary models Wace and Benoît hoped to inspire the elite of England and France to imitate their famous ancestors in such noble deeds as generosity, clemency, amiability, graciousness, and chivalric, courteous combat.

Defining Chivalry and Courtoisie

Wace's Brut and its precursor, Geoffrey's Historia, already contain clear chivalric and courtois elements, for they teach us that chivalry was practiced at the court of King Arthur. However, the language treating chivalry and courtoisie throughout the twelfth century is difficult to characterize precisely. The chief new element in courtoisie is its interest in love and the perfection of it. Aldo Scaglione, in Knights at Court, defines the chivalric/courtois code as a combination of the courtly and chivalric/heroic codes that adds the element of love (7). He points out that the terms 'courtly' and 'courtliness' refer to a social and cultural environment of elegance common in aristocratic circles (8). An ethic of refined conduct provided a sense of order within the knightly class.

C. Stephen Jaeger explains that "courtliness and courtly humanity were, next to Christian ideals, the most powerful civilizing forces in the West since ancient Rome" (Origins 261). He adds that the cruelty and inhumanity of the Middle Ages "can justly be seen as departures from a powerful, effective, and widely held ideal of delicacy and respect for life and the feelings of others" (261)

Courtoisie, as regards its amatory significance, is the refinement of feelings that results from labors and travails endured for the love of a

courtly lady (Keen 30). Definitions for courtois and courtoisie that do not specify courtly love imply that courtois, or courteous, behavior signifies an excellence of manners where respect for others' feelings and interests is of paramount importance; and that courtoisie, or courtesy, in association with courtliness and chivalry, denotes a code of personal behavior that acts as a civilizing force. Robert Marichal interprets courtoisie as "un idéal de culture personnelle" (472). Emmanuèle Baumgartner incorporates the roman antique, specifically the Roman de Troie, in her definition of courtoisie: "[c'est] un style de vie et d'écriture où s'unissent le culte de beauté des êtres et des choses, le raffinement des mœurs, les plaisirs des sens et de l'esprit" (207).

Chivalry characterizes an ideology that formed patterns of "noble" behavior. It refers to a code of values practiced by the high nobility and their soldiery (Gillingham 51). Maurice Keen, in his book entitled Chivalry, states that "chivalry may be described as an ethos in which martial, aristocratic, and Christian elements were fused together" (16). Its qualities embodied the martial arts of courage and prowess in arms, the noble gifts of generosity, loyalty, kindness, eloquence, and skill in the courtly pastimes of hunting and social games, and the Christian attribute of protecting the weak, women, widows and orphans. Nonetheless, the code of chivalry was believed to emerge from an ancient tradition that dates back before Christianity, a time that the poet of the Troie hoped to recover. Erich Köhler credits the Troie and the other romans antiques

with the new idea of attaching courtois and chivalric ways of thinking to their classical heroes (48). "Ce monde historique nouvellement découvert . . . serve de passé ancestral aux maisons princières et aux intérêts du monde chevaleresques et courtois" (Köhler 54).

Chivalry was an ongoing process in the Middle Ages. Keen states that the Latin term miles was used at the beginning of the eleventh century to denote a mounted warrior, or knight (27). During the course of the century, prowess in arms, liberality, and pride in loyal service, as seen in the chansons de geste, developed into the attributes of the society of knights, with the possession of a war horse and a knowledge of how to handle it being marks of social identity (Keen 104). By the early twelfth century, however, both the higher aristocracy and the cavaliers of moderate means, whose families held but a small estate, identified themselves as milites (Keen 27). "The implication of this extension of the use of the word as a title would seem to be that the two groups, the lesser knighthood . . . and the greater nobility . . . were drawing together in terms of social cohesion (though not, of course, economically) and that the word miles itself was acquiring more clearly honorific associations" (Keen 27-28).

Georges Duby concludes that because knights began to settle on estates, they were entitled to a name and the founding of a lineage (86). He adds that strict and solid patrilineal ancestry soon trickled down to all levels of the knightly class (Chivalrous Society 86). As family solidarity

was strengthened within the framework of lineage, "the knighthood thus became a society of heirs, solid and shut in . . ." (87). The chivalric value system reigned only among men of breeding, whose virtue and authority were considered inborn.

The ancient myths, indeed viewed as history, became the basis of an ideology of chivalric identity. Consequently, chivalry was considered to be an inheritance from antiquity. The very ancientness of the myths, as interpreted in the Troy Tale and the *Aeneid*, supported the authentic status of the aristocracy's claim to a historical mission as noble warriors and leaders. To liken this privilege to aristocrats in the *Iliad*, we can show that Sarpedon and Glaucus, allies of the Trojans, as mentioned above, are noble Lycian warriors whose station leads to superior authority and valor, which reap rewards of the choicest lands and of an enduring lineage. Standards of conduct revived from Classical Antiquity were central to the shaping of chivalric ethics (Jaeger, *Origins* xii).

John Gillingham, in *The English in the Twelfth Century*, notes that the code of chivalry originated in the eleventh century, after the Battle of Hastings, when aristocrats went from the age-old value system of loyalty, largess, courage, and prowess to placing a high value on the merciful and humane treatment of unresisting non-combatants (210). The bishops attempted to maintain peace and guarantee immunity from war to clergy and other civilians through the Peace and Truce of God, legislation proclaimed by local church councils and carried out by ecclesiastical censures and by the action of faithful knights (Keen 27).

The Historia vis-à-vis the Brut

Wace, in his Roman de Brut, demonstrates the chivalric quality of clemency that Arthur bestows on subjugated women and children and members of the clergy:

Es vus evesques e abbez,
Muines e altres ordenez,
Cors sainz e reliques portant,
Pur les Escoz merci querant.
Es vus lé dames des cuntrees,
Tutes nu piez, eschevelees,
Lur vesteüres decirees
E lur chieres esgratínees,
En lur braz lur enfanz petiz;
Od pluremenz e od granz criz
As piez Artur tuit s'umilient,
Plurent e braient, merci crient:
'Sire, merci!' ce dient tuit;

...

Artur fu mult buens el desus;
De cel chaítif pople ot pitié
E des sainz cors e del clergíé;
Vie e membre lur parduna,
Lur humages prist sis laissa. (9465-77, 9522-26)

Both Wace and Geoffrey allude to the Christian world in which Arthur lives and to the Christianity that he practices. Christianity as well as chivalry are civilizing forces. Geoffrey describes Arthur's compassion for the pitiful clergy who come to seek leniency for their vanquished community:

Cumque nulli prout reperiebatur parceret, convenerunt omnes episcopi miserande patrie cum omni clero sibi subdito reliquias sanctorum & ecclesiastica sacra nudis ferentes pedibus, isericordiam regis pro salute populi sui imploraturi. Qui mox ut presentiam regis nacti sunt, flexis genibus genibus deprecari sunt eum ut pietatem super contrita gente haberet. . . . Cumque regem in hunc modum rogassent, commovit eum pietas in lacrimas, sanctorumque virorum petitionibus adquiescens, veniam donavit. (IX. vi)

[He treated [the Scots and the Picts] with unparalleled severity, sparing no one who fell into his hands. As a result all the bishops of this pitiful country, with all the clergy under their command, their feet bare and in their hands the relics of their saints and the treasures of their churches, assembled to beg pity of the King for the relief of their people. The moment they came into the King's presence, they fell on their knees and besought him to have mercy on their sorrowing people. . . . When they had petitioned the King in this way, their patriotism moved him to tears. Arthur gave in to the prayers presented by these men of religion and granted a pardon to their people.] (Thorpe 219, 220)

A compassionate manner of treatment for high-status enemies and prisoners was also deemed noble. This civilized action was introduced in France during the eleventh century and in England after the Norman Conquest. "Clement treatment of [aristocratic] rebel traitors became the norm during the two chivalrous centuries which started with the reign of William I" (Gillingham 211).

Arthur exemplifies the model king of an enlightened chivalric world. Wace's hope was to present to his aristocratic audience a monarch and his court with whom to identify. In his introduction of Arthur at the age of 15, Wace sanctions a synthesis of warrior valor and courtliness. The civilizing force of courtesy plays a role, as Arthur has others direct themselves curteisement toward him, inasmuch as he excels in the practice of curteisie. Wace relates that the new king at a young age already possesses the qualities of chivalry and courtoisie and other appropriate attributes necessary to triumph over all other monarchs in prestige and glory:

Juvenels esteit de quinze anz,
De sun eage fors e granz.

Les thecches Artur vus dirrai,
 Neient ne vus en mentirai;
 Chevaliers fu mult vertuus,
 Mult fu preisanz, mult glorius;
 Cuntre orguillus fu orguilluss
 E cuntre humles dulz e pitus;
 Forz e hardiz e conqueranz,
 Large dunere e despendanz;
 E se busuinnus le requist,
 S'aidier li pout, ne l'escundist.
 Mult ama preis, mult ama gloire,
 Mult volt ses faiz mettre en memoire,
 Servir se fist curteisement
 Si se cuntint mult noblement.
 Tant cum il vesqui e regna
 Tuz altres princes surmunta
 De curteisie e de noblesce
 E de vertu e de largesce. (9013-32)

Geoffrey's original account of Arthur some 20 years earlier does not use a term equivalent to Wace's curteisement or curteisie. However, Geoffrey does endow the king with an innate excellence that gives him the grace to make him loved by his people. He also bestows on him a "noble" bearing, comprised of courage and generosity:

Erat autem arturus .xv. annorum iuvenis inaudite virtutis atque largitatis, in quo tantam gratiam innata bonitas prestiterat, ut a cunctis fere populis amaretur. Insignibus itaque regiis iniciatus, solitum morem servans, largitati indulsit. Confluebat ad eum tanta multitudo militum, ut ei quod dispensaret deficeret. Sic cui naturalis inest largicio cum probitate, licet ad tempus indigeat nullatenus tamen continua paupertas ei nocebit. Arturus ergo quia in illo probitas largitionem comitabatur, statuit saxones inquietare, ut eorum opibus que ei famulabatur ditaret familiam. (IX. i)
 [Arthur was a young man only fifteen years old; but he was of outstanding courage and generosity, and his inborn goodness gave him such grace that he was loved by almost all the people. Once he had been invested with the royal insignia, he observed the normal custom of giving gifts freely to everyone. Such a great crowd of soldiers flocked to him that he came to an end of what he had to distribute. However, the man to whom open-handedness and bravery both come naturally may indeed find himself momentarily in need, but poverty will never harass him for long. In Arthur

courage was closely linked with generosity, and he made up his mind to harry the Saxons, so that with their wealth he might reward the retainers who served his own household.] (Thorpe 212)

Geoffrey mentions the innata bonitas, 'inborn goodness,' of Arthur, while Wace does not note any innate abilities transmitted by blood and race. Wace was not impressed by ancient lineage, but he does specify other chivalric and courtois qualities, such as vertuus, preisanz, glorius, and dulz e pitus. Both authors agree that Arthur was generous and noble and refined.

Wace's recounting of Arthur's love of preis and gloire and the announcement that "Mult volt ses faiz mettre en memoire" calls to mind the Iliad and Hector's great concern for his future renown. Huizinga states that "the passionate desire to find himself praised by contemporaries or by posterity was the source of virtue with the courtly knight of the twelfth century" (59).

The rationale for the prominence of the chivalric quality of largess in the romances is to be found in the considerable number of existing bachelors, or "youths," who accounted for a large component in the world of chivalry. These young knights of good family squandered money, for they loved luxury, but as inheritance favored the eldest son, they had to seek their own fortunes by turning to a life of adventure. Wars, tournaments, and the liberality of the higher nobility were opportune vehicles for them to accumulate wealth. Maurice Keen states that the insecurity of the lesser knighthood led to eager appreciation of largess, while correspondingly the upper aristocracy knew that liberality

would win the hearts of men and gain them faithful service (29).

Likewise, this chivalric practice of largess on the part of the higher nobility toward the young knights suggests the Iliad with its reciprocal gift-giving by the Trojans to their allies in exchange for service.

To be noble meant to be extravagant, and the generosity of Arthur is boundless. In the course of his campaigns he gains immense wealth and afterwards shares it by dispensing lavish gifts. Georges Duby affirms that in the twelfth century "la largesse, vertu majeure du système de valeurs aristocratique, fait l'autorité et le prestige de tout seigneur" (Mâle Moyen Âge 195). The custom was not motivated by Christian charity, however, for gifts were given on the principle of appropriateness to social standing (Burnley 72). Wace describes how Arthur repays those who served him and those who come to visit him from other lands:

Li reis ses bachelers feufa,
 Enurs delivres devisa;
 Lur servises a cels rendi
 Ki pur terres l'ourent servi;
 Burcs duna e chasteleries
 E evesquiez e abeies.
 A cels ki d'alre terre esteient,
 Ki pur amur al rei veneient,
 Duna cupes, duna destriers,
 Duna de ses aveirs plus chiers. (10591-620)

Reto Bezzola likens the Arthur of Geoffrey and Wace to the Anglo-Norman kings. "Il aime le luxe, l'apparat, le faste, et surtout, il est libéral, il comble de cadeaux ses hôtes, ses vassaux, ses amis (3: 544). The Brut's subsequent inventory of riches dispensed by Arthur suggests stories the Crusaders told of Byzantine luxury. Opulence, indicative of

the East, began to play a greater role in courtly life as well as aristocratic literature in the twelfth century.

Perhaps Arthur's Round Table denotes a symbol of courtoisie. An invention of Wace, as it is not mentioned in the Historia, it is a circular table where all the barons were seated and served on equal terms. Wace describes how the Round Table was made so that no one could boast that he sat higher than his peer:

Pur les nobles baruns qu'il out,
Dunt chascuns mieldre estre quidout,
Chescuns se teneit al meillur,
Ne nuls n'en saveit le peiur,
Fist Artur la Runde Table
Dunt Bretun dient mainte fable.
Illuec seeient li vassal
Tuit chevalment e tuit egal;
A la table egalment seeient
E egalment servi esteient;
Nul d'els ne se poeit vanter
Qu'il seïst plus halt de sun per,
Tuit esteient assis meain
Ne n'i aveit nul de forain. (9747-60)

Bezzola calls the Round Table "le célèbre symbole de la société courtoise," because it made the knights equal to the king, thus implying the end of feudalism. "[La Table ronde] remplace pour la première fois l'assemblée féodale des barons debout autour du siège impérial, sur lequel trône leur souverain" (4: 161). Conversely, Erich Köhler alleges that feudalism supports a strong aristocracy and a weak king, because in the romans courtois Arthur is not a sovereign king, but a symbol of an ideal feudal state (26). He refers to the king as a necessary center around which the community constitutes itself; " . . . il est éclatant mais faible

des intérêts féodaux" (38). Scaglione claims that Wace introduced the Round Table as a symbol for aristocratic egalitarianism to rival monarchic sovereignty (123), no doubt of the recently crowned king, Henry II. If courtoisie symbolizes a democratic spirit in the Brut, Wace may have hoped to revive imagined liberties of a distant past.

In the passage reporting the Round Table, the audience also witnesses the new concept of the court as the center of courtoisie. Wace's listeners must have been proud to hear that the fame of Arthur's court rivaled that of the Roman emperor, inasmuch as courtesy was considered to be an inheritance from ancient Rome (Jaeger, Origins 4). Because a long period of peace is necessary to improve chivalric and courtly skills and for civilized interaction (Gillingham 181), Wace relates that during twelve tranquil years, Arthur acquires prestige thanks to the enhancement of his own courtoisie, in addition to the gathering of knights from distant lands who come to his court to acquire courteous dress and demeanor:

Duze anz puis cel repairement
 Regna Artur paisiblement,
 Ne nuls guerreier ne l'osa
 Ne il altre ne guereia.
 Par sei, senz altre enseinement,
 Emprist si grant afaitement
 E se cuntint tant noblement,
 Tant bel e tant curteisement,
 N'esteit parole de curt d'ume,
 Neis de l'empereür de Rome.
 N'oeit parler de chevalier
 Ki alques feist a preisier,
 Ki de sa maisnee ne fust,
 Pur ço qu'il aveir le peüst;
 Si pur avoir servir vulsist,

Ja pur avoir ne s'en partist.

....

N'esteit pas tenuz pur curteis

....

Ki a la curt Artur n'alout

E ki od lui ne sujurnout,

E ki n'en aveit vesteüre

E cunuissance e armeüre

A la guise que cil teneient

Ki en la curt Artur serveient. (9731-46, 9761, 9767-72)

Where Wace writes curteisie, Geoffrey uses the Latin term facetia, defined by Scaglione as 'ingeniousness' and 'wit' (118), to show the reason for the renown of Arthur's court. Jean-Charles Payen, in Les origines de la courtoisie dans la littérature française médiévale, however, interprets facetia to designate pleasing manners, for he writes that, "quant au texte de Wace, le mot facetia (charme, agrément) y est traduit par 'courtoisie'" (3). Lewis Thorpe, in his translation of the Historia, interprets facetia as "courtliness." Geoffrey explains that by surrounding himself with very distinguished men, Arthur develops such a standard of facetia in his household that others are inspired to imitate him, at least in their physical appearance:

Emensa deinde hyeme, reversus est in britanniam, statumque regni in firmam pacem renovans, moram .xii. annis ibidem fecit. Tunc invitatis probissimis quibusque ex longe positis regnis, cepit familiam suam augmentare, tantamque facetiam in domo sua habere, ita ut emulationem longe manentibus populis ingereret. Unde nobilissimus quisque incitatus nihili pendebat se, nisi sese sive in induendo, sive in arma ferendo, ad modum militum arturi haberet. (IX. x-xi)

[The winter passed and Arthur returned to Britain. He established the whole of his kingdom in a state of lasting peace and then remained there for the next twelve years.

Arthur then began to increase his personal entourage by inviting very distinguished men from far-distant kingdoms to it. In

this way he developed such a code of courtliness in his household that he inspired peoples living far away to imitate him. The result was that even the man of noblest birth, once he was roused to rivalry, thought nothing at all of himself unless he wore his arms and dressed in the same way as Arthur's knights.] (Thorpe 222)

Courtliness requires the proper external presence of clothing and other accouterments, for appearance matters in an idealized world of splendor and refinement.

In Wace's depiction of Guinevere, inherent physical attractions that constitute elegance are displayed. The poet relates that Arthur found lovable not only her noble birth, but also the beauty and grace, eloquence, and perfect behavior exhibited by the future queen:

Genuevre prist, sin fist reïne,
 Une cuinte e noble meschine;
 Bele esteit e curteise e gent,
 E as nobles Romains parente;
 . . .
 Mult fu de grant afaitement
 E de noble cuntienement,
 Mult fu large e buene parliere,
 Artur l'ama mult et tint chiere. (9645-48, 9653-56)

Along with her refined manner, Wace also refers to the linguistic skills of Guinevere, a quality that complements wisdom (Burnley 101). Eloquence was determined an important attribute of courtliness.

In one of the passages describing Arthur's coronation, Wace associates curteisie with speaking ability. Besides such motives as honor, affection, and largess, Wace cites the king's courtly speech as one of the incentives for the attendance of all those summoned to the ceremony:

N'out remis barun des Espaine
 Dessi al Rim vers Alemainne,
 Ki a la feste ne venist

Pur ço kil la sumunse oïst,
 Tant pur Artur, tant pur ses duns,
 Tant pur cunustre ses baruns,
 Tant pur vecir ses mananties,
 Tant pur oïr ses curteisies,
 Tant pur amur, tant pur banie,
 Tant pur enur, tant pur baillie. (10327-36)

Gabrielle Spiegel notes that wealth, in addition to the traits of military prowess, honor, valor, courtoisie, and service, is a determinant of the privileged social milieu and personal virtue with which chivalry is identified (134). In the following excerpt, Arthur desires to show off the fortune he amassed during a long period of war and to spread his fame. He takes counsel and is advised to assemble his barons in the affluent city of Caerleon on the Usk during the season of Pentecost, at which time he is to be crowned. Wace, not only praises the city's idyllic location, but compares its opulence to that of Rome:

Artur enura tuz les suens,
 Mult ama e duna as buens.
 Pur ses richeises demustrer
 E pur faire de sei parler,
 Prist conseil si li fu loé
 Qu'a la Pentecuste en esté
 Feïst sun barnage assembler
 E dunc se feïst coruner;
 A Karlion en Glamorgan
 Mandast tuz ses barons par ban.
 La cité ert bien herbergiee
 E mult esteit bien aaisee;
 A cel tens, ço distrent li hume,
 De riches palaiz semblot Rome.
 Karliun dejuste Usche siet,
 Un flum ki en Saverne chiet;
 Cil ki d'altre terre veneient
 Par cele eue venir poeient;
 De l'une part ert la riviere,
 De l'autre la forest pleniére.
 Plenté i aveit de peïssun

E grant plenté de veneisun;
 Beles erent les praeries
 E riches les guaaineries. (10197-220)

Geoffrey of Monmouth states that when the feast of Whitsuntide, or Pentecost, is approaching, Arthur, although he holds a plenary court, makes up his own mind to be crowned king. He does accept the advice of the court, however, to hold the festive celebration in the City of Legions, or Caerleon. Geoffrey pictures the city as a *locus amoenus*, with the River Usk on one side and meadows and wooded groves flanking the other; he too likens the wealth of the city to that of Rome:

Cum igitur sollennitas pentecostes advenire inciperet, post tantum triumphum maxima leticia fluctuans arturus, affectavit curiam ilico tenere, regnique diadema capiti suo imponere. . . . Indicato autem familiaribus suis quod affectaverat, consilium cepit ut in urbe legionum suum exequeretur propositum. In glamorgantia etenim super oscam fluvium non longe a sabrino mari ameno situ locata, pre ceteris civitatibus diviciarum copiis habundans, tante sollempnitati apta erat. Ex una namque parte, predictum nobile flumen iuxta eam fluebat per quod transmarini reges & principes qui venturi erant navigio advehi poterant. Ex alia vero parte pratis atque nemoribus vallata, regalibus prepollebant palatiis, ita ut auteis tectorum fastigiis romam imitaretur. (IX. xii)

[When the feast of Whitsuntide began to draw near, Arthur, who was quite overjoyed by his great success, made up his mind to hold a plenary court at that season and place the crown of the kingdom on his head. . . . He explained to the members of his court what he was proposing to do and accepted their advice that he should carry out his plan in the City of the Legions.

Situated as it is in Glamorganshire, on the River Usk, not far from the Severn Sea, in a most pleasant position, and being richer in material wealth than other townships, this city was eminently suitable for such a ceremony. The river which I have named flowed by it on one side, and up this the kings and princes who were to come from across the sea could be carried in a fleet of ships. On the other side, which was flanked by meadows and wooded groves, they had adorned the city with royal palaces, and by the gold-painted gables of its roofs it was a match for Rome.] (Thorpe 225-226)

The twelfth-century renaissance shaped the secular celebration of the world's delights, values, and activities (Gillingham 235). Wace shows that at the time of his coronation, Arthur's court is the most splendid ever and much given to extravagant pomp. Ancient Troy is recalled as an influence on the pageantry. The author describes the lavish occasion and then praises England for its unrivaled courtliness, even among the poor peasants:

Quant le reis turna del mustier,
 En sun palais ala mangier.
 La reïne en un altre ala
 E les dames od sei mena:
 Li reis manga ovec ses humes
 E la reïne ovec les dames,
 A grant deduit e a grant joie.
 Custume soleit estre a Troie
 E Bretun encore la teneient,
 ...
 Mult veïssez riche vaissele,
 Ki mult ert chiere e mult ert bele,
 E de mangiers riche servise
 E de beivres de maint guise.
 Ne puis tut ne ne sai numer,
 Ne les richescas acunter.
 De buens homes e de richesce
 E de plenté e de noblesce
 E de curteisie e d'enur
 Portout Engleterre la flur
 Sur tuz les regnes d'environ
 E sur tuz cels que nus savum.
 Plus erent curteis et vaillant
 Neïs le povre paisant
 Que chevalier en altres regnes,
 E altres erent les femes. (10445-53, 10487-503)

Geoffrey too comments on the affluence, sophistication, and courteous behavior, facetia, of the court of Arthur and Guinevere, and of

the inhabitants of Britain, shaped in part by using the customs of ancient Troy:

... rex & regina diademata sua deponunt, assumptisque levioribus ornamentis, ipse ad suum palatium cum viris, illa ad aliud cum mulieribus epulatum incedunt. Antiquam namque consuetudinem troie britones servantes, consueverant mares cum maribus, mulieres cum mulieribus festivos dies separatim celebrare. . . . Quem si omnino describerem, nimiam prolixitatem hystorie generarem. Ad tantum etenim statum dignitatis britannia tunc reducta erat, quod coma luxu ornamentorum, facetia incolarum, cetera regna excelebat. (IX. xiii)

[The King and the Queen then took off their crowns and put on lighter regalia. The King went off with the men to feast in his own place and the Queen retired with the married women to feast in hers; for the Britons still observed the ancient custom of Troy, the men celebrating festive occasions with their fellow-men and the women eating separately with the other women. . . . If I were to describe everything, I should make this story far too long. Indeed, by this time, Britain had reached such a standard of sophistication that it excelled all other kingdoms in its general affluence, the richness of its decorations, and the courteous behaviour of its inhabitants.] (Thorpe 229)

The chivalric knight is skilled in the courtly pastime of social games. Arthur, in playing the courteous host, is compelled to provide entertainment and to make his guests feel at ease. Duby elaborates on the obligation of any courtois head of a seigneurial household: "Il doit par consequent s'employer à les divertir, par les jeux du corps, mais aussi par les jeux de l'esprit" (Mâle Moyen Âge 195). Knights compete against one another to gain rewards from Arthur and to win the favor of the ladies. Wace gives a lengthy account of the amusements enjoyed at the coronation, such as jousting, fencing, wrestling, and games of chance, as well as storytellers and lays and melodies performed by minstrels:

Quant le reis leva del mangier,
 Alez sunt tuit esbanier;
 De la cité es chans eissirent,
 A plusurs gieus se departirent;
 Li altre alerent boholder
 E lur isnels chevals mustrer,
 Li altre alerent escremir
 Ou pierre geter ou saillir;
 Tels i aveit ki darz lançoent
 E tels i aveit ki lutoent.
 Chescuns del gieu s'entremeteit
 Dunt entremettre se saveit.
 Cil ki ses compainnuns venqueit
 E ki d'alcun gieu pris aveit,
 Esteit sumpres al rei menez
 E a tuz les autres mustrez,
 E li reis del suen li donout
 Tant dunt cil tuz liez s'en alout.
 Les dames sur les murs muntoent
 Pur esgarder cels ki juoent;
 Ki ami aveit en la place
 Tost li turnot l'oïl e la face.
 [Mult out a la curt juleürs,
 Chanteürs, estrumeteürs;
 Mult peüssiez oïr chançons,
 Rotruenges e novels suns,
 Vieleüres, lais de notes,
 Lais de vieles, lais de rotes,
 Lais de harpes, lais de frestels,
 Lires, tympes e chalemels,
 Symphonies, psalteriuns,
 Monacordes, timbes, coruns.
 Assez i out tresgeteürs;
 Joeresses e juleürs;
 Li un dient contes e fables,
 Alquant demandent dez e tables.] (10521-10556)

Geoffrey, too, relates that the womenfolk play a role in the tournament. Not unlike actual combat, they watch from the top of the city walls as the knights engage in an imitation battle. Each lady excites her particular favorite with her flirtatious manner. Further competitive

games are enjoyed, such as shooting arrows, hurling lances, tossing heavy stones, and playing dice. Geoffrey describes these diversions as well as Arthur's generosity to the winners:

Refecti tandem epulis, diversi diversos ludos composituri, campos extra civitatem adeunt. Mox milites simulachrum prelii sciendo equestrem ludum componunt, mulieres in edituo murorum aspicientes, in furiales amoris flammis ioci irritant. Alii cum celtibus, alii cum hasta, alii pondorosorum lapidum ictu alii saxis, alii cum aleis, ceterorumque iocorum diversitate contententes, quod restabat postposita lite pretereunt. Quicumque ergo victoriam ludi sui adeptus erat, ab arturo largis muneribus donabatur. (IX. xiv)

[Invigorated by the food and drink which they had consumed, they went out into the meadows outside the city and split up into groups ready to play various games. The knights planned an imitation battle and competed together on horseback, while their womenfolk watched from the top of the city walls and aroused them to passionate excitement by their flirtatious behaviour. The others passed what remained of the day in shooting with bows and arrows, hurling the lance, tossing heavy stones and rocks, playing dice and an immense variety of other games: this without the slightest show of ill-feeling. Whoever won his particular game was then rewarded by Arthur with an immense prize.] (Thorpe 229-30)

Mingling of love and valor, the topos of amor et militia, briefly featured by Geoffrey, became a highlight of the twelfth-century romances. The knight must exercise skill and bravery in combat in order to win the affection of a courtly lady; at the same time the lady becomes more faithful and genteel. This advantageous relationship is shown by Geoffrey to be part of the entertainment at Arthur's coronation:

Quicumque vero famosus probitate miles in eadem erat, unius coloris vestibus atque armis utebatur, facete etiam mulieres consimilia indumenta habentes, nullius amorem habere dignabantur, nisi tercio in milicia probatus esset. Efficiebantur ergo caste, & meliores, & milites pro amore illarum probiores. (IX. xlii)

[Every knight in the country who was in any way famed for his bravery wore livery and arms showing his own distinctive colour; and women of fashion often displayed the same colours. They scorned to give their love to any man who had not proved himself three times in battle. In this way the womenfolk became chaste and more virtuous and for their love the knights were ever more daring.] (Thorpe 229)

Wearing clothing and arms all of a certain color is a badge of honor for the valiant knight, and therefore the lady wishes to identify with him.

Payen explains this specific courtois behavior found in the Historia:

Geoffroi souligne le luxe des habits et des armes au couronnement d'Arthur. Les dames assistent aux prouesses des chevaliers. Leurs costumes sont d'une seule couleur comme les vêtements et les armures de leurs champions, et chacune a choisi la couleur de son ami. (3)

The elegant dress code of the noble couple as well as the link between amor et militia are likewise advanced by Wace:

Ja ne veïssiez chevalier
 Ki de rien feïst a preisier
 Ki armes e dras e atur
 Nen eüst tut d'une culur;
 D'une culur armes faiseient
 E d'une culur se vesteient,
 Si rerent les dames preisiees
 D'une culur apareillees.
 Ja nul chevalier n'i eüst,
 De quel parage que il fust,
 Ja peüst avoir druerie
 Ne curteise dame a amie,
 Se il n'eüst treis feiz esté
 De chevalerie pruvé.
 Li chevalier mielz en valeient
 E en estur mielz en faiseient
 E les dames meillur esteient
 E plus chastement en viveient. (10503-20)

The knight becomes more daring if the lady scorns giving her love without proof of the man's prowess three times in battle, and the lady, in

turn, answers with her devotion. A woman's love represents a source of inspiration to greater military endeavors. "Le jeune homme risque sa vie dans l'intention de se parfaire, . . . mais aussi de prendre, prendre son plaisir . . ." (Duby, Mâle Moyen Âge 76). This interplay of amor and militia was one of the bridges the Historia and the Brut built to the newer world of the roman antique.

Roman de Troie

Geoffrey's and Wace's legendary narratives stimulated interest in ancient origins and history. Antiquity provided an ideal model of society and culture. The vernacular of the Brut, furthermore, aided the French-speaking English aristocracy to gain access to remote and recent British history and civilization. The matter of the Roman de Troie, together with the two other principal romans antiques, the Roman de Thèbes and the Roman d'Enéas, acted as a historical forerunner to the Roman de Brut.

The essence of the romans antiques proclaimed the glory and the moral values of heroes and heroines of antiquity. It developed not only from the new interest in history but also from the burgeoning scholarship of the classics. Erich Köhler maintains that the romances of antiquity "contribuent de manière décisive à l'élaboration d'une conscience nouvelle, autonome, à la fois individuelle et sociale" (47). The poems, a hybrid of epic and romance, gave greater emphasis to the importance of women and to the refinement of love than did the Brut. They were "a new voice . . . grounded in the authority of the ancients and

at the same time displaying a new independence and literary consciousness" (Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "Old French Narrative Genres" 158).

The importance of the new genre is measured by Aimé Petit in his comprehensive work Naissances du roman:

Le succès des romans antiques au Moyen Age est attesté d'abord par le nombre de manuscrits les contenant: cinq manuscrits et le fragment d'Angers pour Thèbes, 9 pour Enéas, 28 manuscrits principaux et 11 fragmentaires pour Troie. . . . La postérité de ces œuvres s'apprécie également par les allusions qu'elles ont suscitées dans les textes qui les ont suivies comme dans les productions littéraires qu'elles ont directement inspirées. (8-9)

Petit identifies the multitude of works that were either translated or adapted from the romans antiques throughout Europe during the Middle Ages. (9)

The genre known as the roman antique is interpreted by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski as being "sustained by the presence of a Latin book as basis for translatio. That book must be identifiable as belonging to the curriculum" ("Old French" 145). Although the Roman de Brut was a "translation" of a Latin work, its author, Geoffrey of Monmouth, was not one of the auctores whose books constituted the school curriculum. The three works that invariably are contained in the canon of romances of antiquity are the Roman de Thèbes, the Roman d'Enéas, and the Roman de Troie. Scholars disagree as to what additional texts may be included, as Glenda Warren notes:

Faral includes Piramus et Tisbé [a short romance adapted from Ovid's Metamorphoses], for example. Frappier and Blumenfeld-

Kosinski include various versions of the Roman d'Alexandre, that is, the version of Albéric de Pisançon, Alexandre en Orient, the Mort Alexandre, the Venjançe Alexandre, the Vengement Alexandre, the decasyllabic Alexandre, and the version of Alexandre de Paris. (6)

The Roman de Thèbes, whose poet is unknown, is based on Statius' Thebaid, an epic describing the rivalry between Polynices and Eteocles, the sons of Oedipus, for the throne of Thebes. Curtius states that "the 'Tale of Thebes' was a favorite book in the Middle Ages, as popular as the Arthurian romances" (18). The Roman d'Énéas, also by an anonymous author, is an adaptation of Virgil's celebrated Aeneid. The Roman de Troie, a retelling of the Trojan War and its aftermath, originates not from Homer's heroic poems, but from fourth- and fifth-century Latin versions, the pseudo-Dares' De Excidio Troiae Historia and the pseudo-Dictys' Ephemeridos Belli Troiani. Emmanuèle Baumgartner claims that the pseudo-Dares enjoyed "une grande diffusion au Moyen Age" ("Benoît de Sainte-Maure et l'œuvre de Troie" 16).

The three romans antiques, unlike Wace's Brut, completely transform their source-models. The three works were all composed within a period of about 15 years, approximately from 1150 to 1165, in western France or England in a milieu closely associated with the Anglo-Norman and Angevin courts. The Thèbes was written during the period of the civil war in England, shortly before the ascendancy to the throne of Henry II, but the Énéas and the Troie were written during this powerful king's long and auspicious reign.

Benoît claims that he did not follow the Homeric poems, because, although Homer was a marvelous clerk, he was not an eyewitness to the Trojan War, whereas Dares had fought in the war on the Trojan side. At the start of his roman of more than 30,000 lines, he explains why Homer's version of the siege and destruction of Troy is not accurate:

Omers, qui fu clers mervellos
 E sages e esciētos,
 Escrist de la destrucion,
 Del grant siege e de l'acheison
 Por quei Troie fu desertee,
 Que onc puis ne fu rabitee.
 Mais ne dist pas sis livres veir,
 Quar bien savons senz nul espeir
 Qu'il ne fu puis de cent anz nez
 Que le granz oz fu assemblez:
 N'est merveille s'il i faillit,
 Quar onc n'i fu ne rien n'en vit. (45-56)

Benoît specifies that Dares remained in Troy until the Greek army's departure and daily kept a diary of the war:

Dedenz esteit, onc n'en eissi
 Desci que l'oz s'en departi;
 Mainte proëce i fist de sei
 E a asaut e a tornei.
 En lui aveit clerc mervellos
 E des set arz esciētos:
 Por ço qu'il vit si grant l'afaire
 Que alnz ne puis ne fu nus maïre,
 Si voust les faiz metre en memoire:
 En grezeis en escrist l'estoire.
 Chascun jor ensi l'escriveit
 Come il o ses ieuz le veït.
 Tot quant qu'il faiseient le jor
 O en bataille o en estor,
 Tot escriveit la nuit après. (95-109)

The medieval authors used ancient subject matter, chiefly myth understood as history, to give themselves authority to impart moral and

intellectual lessons. They wished to pass on the wisdom of antiquity to an audience of French and English aristocrats who knew little or no Latin.

Benoît offers an explanation for relating his knowledge in romanz:

E qui plus set, e plus deit faire:
De ço ne se deit nus retraire.
E por ço me vueil travailler
En une estoire comencier,
Que de latin, ou jo la truis,
Se j'ai le sen e se jo puis,
La voudrai se en romanz metre
Que cil qui n'entendent le letre
Se puissent deduire el remanz. (31-39)

The transference of knowledge, or translatio studii, implies the continued survival of ancient learning as regards values of a later society.

The goal of the author of a roman antique was to communicate the wisdom of the past to the present so that it would continue to grow.

Benoît discloses this intention, for he believes that if knowledge is not handed down, it is soon forgotten and lost:

Se cil qui troverent les parz
E les granz livres des set arz,
Des philosophes les traitez,
Dont toz li monz es enseigniez,
Se fussent teü, veirement
Vesquist li siegles folement:
...
Remembré seront a toz tens
E coneü par lor granz sens,
Quar sciënce que est teüe
Est tost obliëe e perdue.
...
E sciënce qu'est bien oïe
Germe e florist e frutefie. (7-12, 17-20, 23-24)

The knowledge that was transmitted from antiquity to the medieval audience was not only the chivalric/courtois code of the ancients, but

also the transitory nature and the fragility of the world in which it thrived. Benoît mentions throughout his poem the courtly behavior of the Trojan heroes and the opulent environment with which they surrounded themselves, but he is keen to relate the role of destiny and Fortune in the fall of Troy. Barbara Nolan explains that "in the twelfth-century school books and in Benoît's poem is the academic theme of Fortune as the agent of destinee" (20). She adds that "alternative causes . . . offer different explanations for the Trojans' downfall—pride, folly, destiny, treachery—and these greatly complicate the issue of fortune, though they do not entirely displace it" (21).

Whereas courtly love, or the topos of fin' amor, is an essential ingredient of the chivalric/courtois code in the Troie, as are eloquence, honor, and valor, the misappropriation of any of them could be a source of disaster. Although the civilizing force of chivalry and courtoisie in the Troie was designed to inspire the twelfth-century nobility, additional examples of ancient wisdom that Benoît wished to convey were the circumstances that led to the Trojans' demise, such as foolish behavior and the role of fate, mentioned above by Barbara Nolan.

Members of Benoît's audience, however, were aware that, despite the tragedy of Troy brought about by Fortune and capricious actions, they were living proof that the Trojan lineage survived. Tales about the devastated city and its progeny had been revived many times throughout the ages, primarily by means of learned clerks and their mythic literature. Benoît's roman would uphold and enrich this tradition.

Benoît was a scholarly clerk from Sainte-Maure, a village situated between Tours and Poitiers in the continental domain of Henry II. Little is known of his life, but possibly he was one the many vernacular poets of the twelfth century who learned the artes and the auctores at the cathedral schools. R.W. Southern observes that in the twelfth century "the secular cathedral schools—the centres of intellectual advance in northern France" were abundant (162-3). For the most part the learned clerics were absorbed by the feudal courts of France and England, where an extensive number of knights pursued intellectual activity (Curtius 384).

Like the authors of the other romans antiques, Benoît adapted a traditional Latin epic into a courtly romance that would act as a means of educating while entertaining. A new authoritative voice became necessary to give the translatio studii concept strength and conviction (Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "Old French" 157). The scholarly clerk was the exclusive teacher and mediator of academic knowledge and moral conduct transferred from Antiquity. William Calin explains that the audience, "both on the Continent and in England," in the twelfth century for the romans antiques and other books written in French included "the high aristocracy, the petty nobility, a section of the Third Estate (bourgeoisie) that frequented the courts and aped aristocratic manners," as well as "educated, secular-oriented clergy" (518).

Although the great schools were located in France and Benoît seemingly wrote in France, albeit in a province of the English king, the

leading force, socially and politically, in western Europe in the second half of the twelfth century was the dynasty of England. When Henry II ascended the throne in 1154, he was not only the king of England but also the duke of Normandy, the count of Anjou, and, through marriage, lord of Aquitaine. Emmanuèle Baumgartner hails him as the "nouvel Arthur" and the city of London as the new Troy (De l'histoire de Troie au livre du Graal 9).

During the reign of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine the court of England became not only the most powerful but also the most splendid in western Europe. "On se croirait transporté dans les milieux humanistes des cours italiennes de la Renaissance, d'autant plus que le renouveau des connaissances et de la littérature de l'Antiquité classique a fait, depuis le second tiers du XII^e siècle, des progrès étonnants" (Bezzola 4: 5). Henry II, well-educated and advocate of his family's tradition for high culture, along with his wife, Eleanor, encouraged all manner of learning and literature. They exemplified the Anglo-Norman and Angevin monarchs, from William the Conqueror to Richard I, all of whom were associated with a "flowering of vernacular, courtly, personal, and secular literature" (Calin 11).

Barbara Nolan proposes that because Henry II and Eleanor and their court were "eager to establish their place in the secular . . . classically based history of human civilization, [they] enlisted clerks to invest them with the prestige and moral stature of the ancients" (8).

However, C. Stephen Jaeger argues that “patrons did not make courtly romance; courtly romance made patrons” (“Patrons and Courtly Romance”). He elaborates with the following analysis:

If courtly narrative poets wrote in the hire of feudal nobles, then chivalry, courtliness, and courtly love were not creations of the poet, not their intellectual property, but those of their patrons and of their class—the poets were not the spontaneous creators of a new vision of the sublime chivalric life, but hired image makers. (46)

Benoît and Wace were both appointed by Henry II to write a history of the dukes of Normandy, though the commission did not come until after they had completed their major works. Whereas Benoît does address Eleanor in the Troie, most likely she did not direct the creative process, but only contributed toward an enlightened environment.

We do know that nobles authorized literary works, because, as mentioned above, J.E. Caerwyn Williams states that the Welsh leader, Gruffudd ap Cynan, reigning from 1095-1137, used poets to bring culture to the people, but moreover to sing his praises and promote his agenda, a portion of which K.L. Maund intimates was the legitimizing of the new aristocratic social order in Wales.

The new interest in stories drawn from the classical past obviously owed much to the renewed interest in antiquity in the twelfth-century schools. However, Maurice Keen gives another reason for the popularity of this new literature. He claims that from the point of view of the knightly element in the audience, direct experience with Constantinople and the oriental world, which had been the scene of much in classical

history, was also important for the appreciation of the recent romances of antiquity (107-08). Because of the Crusades, men and women became aware of the magnificent city of Constantinople, with its high walls and lofty towers encircling it, and its rich palaces and tall churches (Keen 107-08), which largely resembled Troy and other royal cities in the romans antiques.

Emmanuèle Baumgartner claims that the royal city is "le ciment de la matière antique," the essential spatial and literary "place" (De l'histoire de Troie 233). She adds that be it Thebes, Troy, Rome, or Carthage, the royal city is the location where is determined the fate of the ruling family who has charge of building it, defending it, and assuring its survival (233). By the twelfth century Troy and its royal family symbolized not only the cities and royalty of London or Paris but also the many individual castles with their cherished holdings that families of the lesser nobility with patrimonies ardently wished to preserve.

The ornamentation and splendor of the city of Troy and the objects in it serve the chivalric and courtois ethos. Benoît claims that a city of such beauty and opulence and size had never been encountered by scholars. Reiterating Catherine Croizy-Naquet, who ascertains an alliance between the city and the perfect woman in the romans antiques, each qualifies as "irremplaçable et singulière, unique et différente" (330). The poet begins his portrait of Priam's reconstruction of the city after its initial devastation by the Greeks:

Co truevent bien le cler lisant,
 E ancore est aparissant,
 C'onques en terre n'ot cité
 Que la resemblast de beauté
 Ne de grandor ne de largece
 Ne de plenté ne de richece.
 Riche i sont fait li fondement
 E l'uevre que desus s'estent:
 Mout la troverent deguastee,
 Mais cent tanz mieuz l'ont restoree;
 Mout la refirent bele et gente,
 Mout i mist Prianz grant entente:
 Mout la fist clore de bons murs
 De marbre hanz, espès e durs;
 Mout en erent haut le terrier.
 Al meins le trait a un archier,
 Aveit granz tors tot environ,
 Faites de chanz e de sablon.
 De marbre fin e de liois
 Jaunes e verz, indes e blois,
 En esteient tuit li quarrel,
 Mout bien entaillié a cisel. (2993-3014)

Benoît describes this most splendid city, with its imposing marble walls and high towers, and handsome avenues lined with magnificent residences and beautiful palaces, as a singular site. He reveals that the residents in fact enjoy paved streets protected by vaults inlaid with mosaic:

Mout en erent beles les rues
 E de riches melsons vestues;
 Mout i aveit de beaus palais:
 Si riches ne verrez ja mais.
 En tote Troie n'ot bordel
 Ou eüst pierre ne quarrel
 Se de marbre non entaillié.
 Ja nus hom n'i mollast son pié,
 Quar les rues erent voutices,
 Les unes as autres jointices:
 Desoz erent pavementees,
 Desus a or musique ovrees. (3029-3040)

Denoting the attributes of Troy, Benoît characterizes Priam's personal residence, which he calls Ilion, as a symbol both of beauty and of power. The thick walls of this citadel are constructed of different colored marble blocks perfectly cut to size. The depiction includes lavish crystal windows and silver and gold flooring:

De marbre blanc, inde, safrin,
Jaune, vermeil, pers e porprin
Erent asis en tel maniere
Tuit li quarrel de la maisiere.
Ensi come il divers esteient,
Por les colors ques departeient,
Si erent les uevres diverses
A flors, a oiseaus e a bestes.
Azur ne teint ne vermeillon
N'i aveit se de marbre non.
D'or esmeré et de cristal
Erent ovré li fenestral.
N'i ot chapitel ne piler
Que l'om ne feïst tresgeter
Tot d'uevre estrange deboissiee
E a cisel bien entailliee.
Riche furent li pavement:
Assez i ot or e argent. (3063-80)

Priam erects his majestic castle, "cette tour vraiment souveraine," "[ce] gratte-ciel," (Baumgartner, De l'histoire de Troie au livre du Graal 206), on Troy's highest site to pose as a threat to any enemy. The poet relates that a master architect was essential for the creation of such a formidable fortress:

El plus haut lieu de Troie sist:
Trop fu maïstre cil qui le fist.
Sor une roche tote entiere,
Qui fu tailliee en tel maniere
Que a compas tot a roont,
S'estreigneit auques jusqu'a mont,

N'esteit si estreiz de desus,
 Cinc cenx teises n'eüst e plus,
 Iluec fu Ylions asis,
 Dont om sorvit tot le païs.
 Si esteit hauz, qui l'esgardot,
 Ço li iert vis e ço cuidot
 Que jusqu'as nues ateinsist:
 Onques Deus cel engin ne fist
 Qui i poüst estre menez
 Par nul home qui onc fust nez. (3047-62)

The king had placed in his stronghold a statue of Jupiter, fashioned from the finest gold, which he along with the other Trojans believed would protect them and their cherished city from conquest and devastation. But, as Benoît states, such was not their fate: "Mais n'iert tieus pas la destinee" (3134).

The *Troie*'s view of destiny corresponds to the medieval schoolmasters' teaching of the transience of material goods that Barbara Nolan demonstrates. She writes that "we are actually made to witness the processes of change as we observe images of great opulence and elegance crumble in the melee of war. . . . Benoît's 'eyewitness' reports draw the audience again and again to admire material splendor and strength, then to recognize its fragility" (39-40). The wisdom of the ancients that Benoît wishes to transmit to the members of his audience is that the role destiny played in the plight of the dazzling city of Troy and its inhabitants may perform a similar part in their lives. By alerting his audience to the folly and destruction of senseless war, perhaps Benoît believes that destiny can be thwarted.

Another extravagant but fleeting sign of courtoisie in the Troie is frivolous entertainment. Benoît relates that with the completion of mighty Ilion and Troy, the lighthearted residents devise imaginative courtois amusements, including the games of dice, chess, and checkers, subsequently restored at the court of King Arthur. He outlines the newly created diversions, assuredly lavish and pleasurable:

Quant Ylion fu achevez
 E Troie la riche citez,
 Grant joie orent, mout furent lié;
 Mout ont as deus sacrefié.
 Gieus establirent e troverent,
 Ou maint feiz se deporterent;
 Onques ne fu riche maistrie
 N'afaitemenz ne corteisie,
 Dont l'om eüst delit ne joie,
 Que ne trovassent cil de Troie:
 Eschec e tables, gieu de dez
 I furent, ço sacheiz, trovez,
 E mainte autre uevre deportable,
 Riche e vaillant e delitable. (3173-86)

Situated in the very center of the Troie is a vivid account of the Chamber of Beauty, a room located in the heart of the royal palace that Priam gave to Helen and Paris as a wedding gift. It is an artificial paradise, an ideal space for pleasure and refinement and luxury, a miniature of the city of Troy itself. Benoît captures its richness with a description of the abundant precious jewels scattered about the room whose brilliancy outshines the sun:

En la Chambre de Labastrie,
 Ou l'ors d'Araibe reflambie,
 E les doze pieres gemeles
 Que Deus en eslist as plus beles,

Quant precioses les noma, —
 Ço fu safirs e sardina,
 Topace, prasme, crisolite,
 Maraude, beriz, ametiste,
 Jaspe, rubis, chiere sardoine,
 Charbocles clers e calcedoine, —
 D'icestes ot de lonc, de lé,
 En la Chambre mout grant plenté.
 N'i convenait autre clarté,
 Quar toz le plus beaus jorz d'esté
 Ne reluist si n'a tel mesure
 Come el faiseit par nuit obscure. (14631-46)

An amazing feature of this room designed by poet-artists for the happy elect is its marvelous technology, what Edmond Faral calls "les automates." He relates that in twelfth-century Constantinople many clever automatons, or robots, were constructed, such as "des musiciens automates . . . qui étaient placés sur le mur de la mer et dont la sonnerie se répandait dans toutes les tours voisines" (*Recherches* 330). Very likely Benoît was inspired by such technology. Unlike the scholars and upper class of Western Europe, the elite living in Constantinople during the Middle Ages were familiar with the original Greek version of the *Iliad*, thus they may have been influenced by the robots to which Homer referred. The ancient poet describes the "robotic" attendants that assisted Hephaestus because of his lameness:

These are golden, and in appearance like living young women.
 There is intelligence in their hearts, and there is speech in them
 and strength, and from the immortal gods they have learned how
 to do things.
 These stirred nimbly in support of their master. . . . (18.418-21)

Benoît's automatons are exquisitely formed in the image of two radiant young women and two divine young men. "Quis esgardot, ço li

ert vis / Qu'angle fussent de Paradis" (14679-80). One of the mechanical female statues is called a model of courtoisie by Benoît. He tells how the automated paragon of courtesy amuses herself with every sort of diversion and thoroughly bewitches all who observe the extraordinary spectacle:

Quar tote jor joë e enveise,
 E bale e tresche e tombe e saut,
 Desus le piler, si en haut
 Que c'est merveille qu'el ne chiet.
 Par soventes feiz se raset:
 Lance e requeut quatre couteaus.
 Cent gieus divers, riches e beaus
 I fait le jor set feiz o uit.
 Sor une table d'or recuit
 Que devant le est lee e grant,
 Fait merveilles de tel semblant
 Que ne porreit rien porpenser, —
 ...
 Qui esguarde la grant merveille,
 Qui est qui tel chose apareille,
 Merveille sei ço que puet estre,
 Qu'onc ne fist Deus cel home naistre
 Quis esguarde, ne s'entrobilit
 De son pensé o de son dit,
 E cui entendre n'i covienge,
 E cui l'image ne detienge. (14712-23, 14747-54)

Another automaton strews the floor with fresh and beautifully colored flowers, and after they wilt, it scatters a new profusion of the lovely blossoms. The action recurs again and again, denoting a rebirth of time and a renewal of a perishable springtime. The revival of devastated Trojan splendor and wisdom over time in the form of the cities and civilizations of Rome, Paris, and London may be glimpsed in the technological wonder created by Benoît.

Recovering the past was also experienced through anachronism. Aimé Petit suggests that anachronism, especially in the roman antique, "le mélange des traits antiques et médiévaux cherche à fixer une image intemporelle exaltant la chevalerie" (428). Although antiquity was glorified by medieval man, the heroes of the new romances are thoroughly transformed into knights of the Middle Ages. "Ils s'habillent, ils sont armés, ils vivent, ils se battent, ils aiment, ils croient, ils parlent, ils agissent en hommes du XIIe siècle" (Bezzola 4: 149).

The anachronisms in the Roman de Troie provide a familiar setting for twelfth-century knights by transferring the manners and customs of the Troy Tale to their own time and place and by shifting the language from traditional Latin to familiar vernacular French. According to Raymond Cormier, "anachronisms actualize the past and secure its continuity" (157). Benoît intended that the members of his audience, noble descendants of Aeneas and Brutus, might recognize themselves in the champions of antiquity and discern whether to emulate them or to triumph over their frailties.

Benoît's audience could likewise experience a lesson in courtly behavior among adversaries. During the second battle a Greek warrior, Theseus, shows compassion and magnanimity toward Hector when he is overpowered by the enemy. Before long Hector has the opportunity to return the courtesy when Theseus finds himself in similar circumstances. Subsequent to this, Hector and Telamon Ajax, the son of Priam's

kidnapped sister, Hesione, recognize one another while they are in hand-to-hand combat. The action ceases and the two cousins embrace. Hector graciously grants Ajax his request not to burn the Greek ships, the step that deprives the Trojans of a decisive victory. Not unlike Homer's image of balancing Fate in the scales during hand-to-hand combat between Hector and Achilles, as indicated above, Benoît relates that it was Fortune that determined the course of the battle, for Hector's noble act was negligible weighed against the inevitable:

Se Fortune vousist le jor,
 Lor grant travail, lor grant labor
 Fussent finé, qu'a plus n'en fussent
 N'autre damage n'i eüssent.
 Ha! Deus, com lor en fust bien pris
 Mais Aventure, ço m'est vis,
 Nel voleit pas, rien n'en doton,
 Quant par si petite acheison
 Remest le jor lor delivrance
 E lor rescosse e lor quitance;
 Si ert la chose a avenir
 Que rien nel poët destolir. (10175-86)

The passage conveys an ambiguous message, as it implies that despite one's behavior, noble or ignoble, it is Fortune who acts as the ultimate judge. As referred to above, in the *Iliad* Hector acknowledges that although Troy cannot escape its destiny, glory will flow from an honorable end. Because Hector was traditionally known for his pursuit of glory and in the Middle Ages was considered the model of chivalry, perhaps Benoît is attempting to alert the individual to be concerned for his celebrity. He who chooses to behave in a courtly manner, no matter the consequence, will be assured a favorable reputation.

The chivalry of Hector comes into question when he hazards to strip the corpse of Patroclus of its magnificent arms and armor during the second battle. Hector's conduct is both reckless and dishonorable, even though Benoît emphasizes that Patroclus' armor is rich and unequalled. He sets the scene:

Dès que Deus voust le mont sauver,
N'oi onques nus hom parler
Que chevaliers eüst sor soi
Iteus armes ne tel conrei:
De grant richeise esteient faites.

...
Hector est sor le cors venuz,
Espee traite est descenduz:
Ne laissera qu'il nel despout,
Qui qu'i gaaint ne cui qu'il cost;
Ainz i perdra del sanc del cors
Que les armes n'en traie fors.
Aamees les a d'amors:
Dreit a, que soz ciel n'a meillors
Ne plus riches ne plus preisiees. (8359-63, 8437-45)

Whether or not Benoît intended to dishonor Hector is problematical, as this incident is one of those fixed events of the Troy Tale. Homer devotes much of the *Iliad* to the demise of Patroclus and the subsequent seizure of his "invincible" armor. Hector's role in the death and disarming of Patroclus leads Achilles back into the fray and to the eventual death of Hector. The pro-Greek Dictys follows the *Iliad*'s story more closely than does Dares regarding the relevance of Patroclus, but he refers only to Hector's mutilation of Patroclus' corpse, not to the disarming of it. On the other hand, the pro-Trojan Dares only briefly mentions that Hector tries to despoil the body of Patroclus by removing

the armor, but then does not turn the episode into a reason for Achilles' revenge. Benoît allows the Greek warrior Meriones, who emerges on the scene just as Hector is at the point of seizing Patroclus' armor, to express a necessary but grisly condemnation of the Trojan's action:

Puis li a dit: 'Lous enragiez,
Autre viande prochaciez!
Ja de cesti ne mangereiz:
Ainz cuit que chier le comparreiz.
Tigres, lion, orse desvee,
Quant ont lur preie devoree,
Si la vont aillors porter:
E tu t'en vueus ci saoler!' (8369-76)

According to Gabrielle Spiegel, honor is one of the identifiable determinants of the exclusive world of chivalry (134). However, the term 'honor' has two interpretations. Marichal writes that "chez nos héros de romans, le moteur principal est l'honneur, l'honneur personnel et celui du lignage" (470). In the ensuing passage from the *Troie*, the terms honoré and honore denote personal respect or reverence for fellow chevaliers. When early in the *Troie* Jason and Hercules and their company land temporarily on the shores of Troy in their quest for the Golden Fleece, Benoît explains that because Laomedon, king of Troy, refuses them hospitality, the Greeks' wounded "honor" must be avenged:

Jason oï la desfiance,
Grant duel en ot e grant pesance:
'Par Deu,' fait-il, 'seignor Grezeis,
Grant honte nos a fait li reis,
Qui de sa terre nos congiee,
E ço nos mande e nos deviee
Que demain n'i seions trové.
Nos deüssons estre honoré

Par lui e par la soë gent,
 Mais de tot ço n'a il talent:
 Mauvaiselement nos i honore;
 Mais ancor cuit veeir tel hore
 Qu'il s'en repentira mout chier. . . ' (1061-73)

Laomedon's refusal to welcome the Greek adventurers occurs because the king was falsely informed that they had ravaged the countryside upon arriving. Because the alleged Greek action causes the Trojan king to fear the loss of his patrimony, or onor, "Bien en porreit perdre s'onor" (1021), the result is the wounded personal honor of the Greeks, which eventually leads to a skirmish and the first fall of Troy. This example of wounded honor caused by erroneous intelligence followed by war may be a measure of ancient wisdom that Benoît was attempting to communicate to his audience of belligerent knights. Pride and misunderstanding only destroy, as they caused the first fall of Troy, which inevitably led to a rebuilding and subsequent disastrous ruin of Priam's magnificent city.

A dual version of the term 'honor' is expressed in a scene between Menelaus and Agamemnon after the kidnapping of Helen by Paris. Inasmuch as 'honor' refers to "l'honneur personal et celui de lignage" (Marichal 470), it is suitable to use the term 'honor' to signify both integrity and domain. Benoît allows Agamemnon explain how the brothers' ancestors are a model for procuring honor, no matter the personal cost:

Li preisié home del vieil tens,
 Qui tant orent valor e sens,

Ne conquistrent pas les honors
 En duel, en larmes ne en plors;
 Mais quant hom lor faiseit laidure,
 Si preneient engin e cure
 Come il s'en pouissent vengier:
 Si deivent faire chevalier.
 Qui n'a guerre n'aversité
 Ne damage ne povreté,
 Coment conoistra sa valor?
 Mais cil a cui hom tout honor,
 Qui les granz cous a a sofrir
 E les maisniees a tenir,
 Qu'il seit povres e sofraitos,
 Or seit riches, or bosoignos,
 A la felee guaignanz
 Et a la felee perdanz;
 Que sis pris creisse e mont e puit,
 Ne de bien faire ne s'enuit:
 Ensi conquistrent lor honor
 Ça en ariers nostre ancessor;
 Ensi puet l'om en pris venir. . . (4953-75)

Priam is absolutely bound to preserve a patrimony that includes realm and crown, as were the royal families of the twelfth century. Furthermore, Priam identifies with the head of every French and English aristocratic family, as he is obliged to secure the "honor" of his people, that which he inherited and will bequeath to his lawful son. In referring to Philip I of France, 1060-1108, Duby explains these moral principles associated with inheritance that a medieval sovereign must follow:

Il se sentait responsable d'un patrimoine. Du "domaine," des seigneuries qu'avaient possédées ses ancêtres, bien sûr. De la "couronne" aussi, qui s'était incorporée à cet héritage. Mais davantage de la gloire de sa race. Ce capital, qu'il avait reçu de son père, il devait le remettre à son fils légitime. (Le Chevalier, la femme et le prêtre 21)

In his remarks to his heir apparent, Hector, while planning war against the Greeks for the kidnapping of Priam's sister, Hesione, during

the first fall of Troy, Priam uses the word onor to signify his son's legacy as supreme leader. He warns Hector that it is essential that he preserve the power of the crown:

Hector, beaus fiz, tu ies li maire:
Sire seras de cest affaire;
Tu en seras le chies de toz,
Quar mout par ies sages e proz.
En tei sera lor recovrier,
A tei se venront conseillier:
Ne vueil qu'i ait fil de baron
Qui rien face se par tei non.
De toz avras la seignorie,
La poësté e la maistrie.
E tu, garde que sauve i seit:
Por ço avras en m'onor dreit,
Por ço me seras fil e heir. (3757-69)

The "honor" of which Priam speaks constitutes a nation. In his statement that "la nation dans le Troie se comprend comme patrimoine, patrie, honneur qu'il faut garder à tout prix" (56), Douglas Kelly assigns the three terms 'patrimony', 'native land', and 'honor' the same significance. Although patrie did not enter the French language until the fifteenth century, a Latin form comprising the idea of 'patrimony' existed in the twelfth century (Kelly 56). Kelly adds that this meaning of patrie is found in the French pais particularly when referring to Hector's troops, who were all from the "nation" of Troy: "La n'ot nul chevalier estrange: / Del pais sont estraiz e nez / E il e toz lor parentez" (9620-22). Kelly notes that Benoît seems to understand that the term 'nation' is synonymous with a race or family of the nobility linked by blood, legitimate or illegitimate, and who inhabits the same land or shares the

same "honor" (56). The members of Benoît's audience, who saw the family as an entity strengthened by its attachment to a hereditary title and patrimony, would relate to the "nation" of Troy, or Greece, because protecting the family "honor" was also their preoccupation. Unlike Homer in the *Iliad*, Benoît does not distinguish between the two definitions of the term 'nation' that were discussed in Chapter 2. When Kelly states that in the *Roman de Troie* "la guerre de Troie est . . . une guerre entre deux nations . . ." (56), he means a war "entre les grandes familles que représentent la nation troyenne et la nation grecque" (66).

The "nation" of Troy, Priam's legacy, which is bequeathed to Hector, is ultimately destroyed by the war. Because Hector wishes to preserve his "honor", his prudence directs him to caution Priam and the council against waging war on a greater power; hence he fails to support and to participate in the campaign against Greece that results in the abduction of Helen. In the following passage he distinguishes the ideology of the belligerent, unrefined Greeks of the West from the cautious, concerned Trojans, who seek the well-being of their "nation":

Bien savons tuit qu'en tot le mont
 N'a si tres fort gent come il sont.
 Vez Eürope, que il ont,
 Que tient la tierce part del mont,
 Ou sont li meillor chevalier
 E li mieuz duit de guerreier:
 Onc al ne firent a nul jor
 Ne ne servent d'autre labor.

...
 Senz nes ne sai com faitement
 Lor poissons faire nullement.
 Mout i avons poi d'apareil,

Sin fait a prendre tel conseil
 Dont l'om puisse a tel chief venir,
 Ne nos en plaignons al partir;
 Quar l'onor de nos e le bien
 En desir jo sor tote rien. (3809-16, 3833-40)

Paris, however, refutes Hector's precaution by recounting a recent dream that he trusts is an omen that the Trojans are destined to avenge Greek insults and bring prestige to Troy. In the dream he acts as an arbiter of beauty between Juno, Venus, and Minerva. Because Venus influences him with the promise of the most beautiful woman in Greece, he judges her the winner. He informs the council of his certainty that the goddess will aid him in his venture:

E Venus m'afia e dist,
 Se la pome li otreioē
 E de beauté plus la looē,
 La plus preisiee qu'i sereit,
 Femme de Grece me dorreit.
 La pome ensi li otreiai
 E de beauté plus la loai:
 A li m'en tinc por la pramesse,
 Si sai tres bien que la deuesse
 M'aidera, n'en dot de rien. (3912-21)

Because the Trojans accept Paris' "visionary" argument, Troy tragically falls. The art of speech is identified with the ideal courtly knight, but dishonest rhetoric acts as a catalyst for disaster.¹² The eloquence of Paris was preferred to the cautionary remarks of Hector as well as those of Helenus, Priam's son especially acclaimed for his accurate predictions. Helenus warns the council that if Paris brings back

¹² Barbara Nolan states that "Benoît shows how elegantly-shaped persuasive arguments can mask selfish private motives or bad judgment and thereby coincide with the workings of malignant fortune" (63).

a woman from Greece, the Trojan kingdom will be attacked and destroyed:

Se de Grece femme en ameine,
 Senz mort, senz dolor e senz peine
 N'en porra eschaper uns sous,
 Quar li Grezeis vendront sor nos,
 Par vive force e par bataille
 Ylion abatront senz faille;
 Ja n'i avra si haut terrier
 Que il ne facent trebuchier.
 Peres e fiz toz ociront
 E tot le regne destruiront
 A grant dolor e a torment:
 Ja nos i remaindra parent. (3965-76)

During his remarks to the war council, Paris implies that Venus' promise of a beautiful sweetheart is a stimulus to valor, thus demonstrating the mingling of militia et amor. As to the chief incentive for Paris' expedition to Greece, Alfred Adler claims that the context of the statement does not render this association, but only offers militia, Venus' promise being an opportune condition rather than the main motive (16). Adler claims that Paris speaks solely for the purpose of stirring up a war of revenge (16): "De mon conseil est ce la some / Que des Grezeis querions vengeance" (3850-51).

Paris does begin his speech with talk of revenge and certain victory due to an abundance of resources and allies. It is only later that he seduces his audience with the account of his dream and his interpretation of it. However, not being the heir to his father's legacy, he is not unlike one of the "youths" of the twelfth century who has to seek his own fortune. Perhaps Paris stirs up the Trojan warriors with talk of

revenge and of aid from the gods with a selfish motive, to seek a beautiful wife with a generous dowry; but Amor triumphs over and endures Militia as long as Paris and Helen enjoy a happy marriage. When Paris dies in the war and Troy falls, Militia prevails.

As in the Historia and the Brut, the courtois theme of the union of love and war in the Troie shows that valor is kindled by love. "Cette présence d'un public féminin assistant aux combats constitue le traitement courtois" (Petit 343). In the Troie "les dames s'intéressent de près aux exploits des héros,—Benoît insistant sur leur émotions . . ." (Petit 343). Among the gathering of lovely and well-bred ladies watching the warfare from the walls Benoît singles out Helen, whom he formerly named "the flower of all beauties." He makes a charming reference to her innocent nature and to a beauty-spot between delicate eyebrows:

Enz el mi lieu des dous sorciz,
 Qu'ele aveit deugiez e soutiz,
 Aveit un seing en tel endreit
 Que merveilles li aveneit.
 Li cors de li ert blans e gras,
 Mout se vesteit bien de ses dras;
 Simple esteit tant e de bon aire
 Come l'on porreit plus retraire. (5133-40)

As onlookers, Benoît also numbers the "bourgeois" ladies, possibly inferring that all women of splendid Troy, similar to all the English people in King Arthur's day, referred to above by Wace, no matter their class, behave in a courtois manner:

Les dames furent sor les murs,
 Que de rien n'ont les cuers seürs,
 E totes les filles le rei,

Por esguarder le grant tornei.
 Heleine i fu mout paorose
 Et mout pensive e mout dotose.
 Mil puceles e mil borgeises
 I perent gentes e corteises:
 N'i a celi ne seilt dotanz. (8081-96)

The theme of destruction in the story of Troy does not allow for the Historia's and the Brut's festive mood and the moral and courtly values of the union of militia et amor, according to Adler. "In the Roman de Troie, the fortitude motivated by love does not create more love and more fortitude; it spells destruction" (15). Either love or war is inclined to destroy the other.

The love of Paris and Helen is tragically destroyed at the hand of the enemy during battle. The love of Hector and his noble and courtois wife, Andromache, whose beauty and prudence Benoît lauds, "En son cors ne en sa semblance, / N'aveit un point de mesestance. / Legerie ne fol semblant / N'aveit in li ne tant ne quant" (5525-28), suffers a similar fate. Troilus, second in prowess only to his brother Hector, and his beloved, Briseida, whom Benoît pictures as white as the fleur-de-lis, but as having eyebrows that unfortunately come together, "Plus esteit bele e bloie e blanche / Que flor de lis ne neif sor branche; / Mais les sorcilles li joigneient, / Que auques li mesaveneient" (5277-80), are forced to separate forever because the war in due time places them on opposing sides. The hostilities unite Briseida and the Greek warrior Diomedes, but generate a feeling of ostracism within Briseida. The would-be lovers, Achilles and the daughter of Hecuba and Priam, Polyxena, are forbidden

to meet because the war puts them in opposite camps as well.

Comparable to the city of Troy itself, Polyxena is the most beautiful, the most courtois, and the most esteemed of all things beautiful. Benoît claims that Polyxena is too lovely to describe:

De la beauté Polixenain
 Vos porreit l'om parler en vain:
 Ne porreit pas estre descrite,
 Ne par mei ne par autre dite.
 Haute ert e graile e longe e droite,
 Par les flans deugiee e estreite;
 Le chief ot bloi, les cheveus lons,
 Qui li passoënt les talons;
 Les ieuz clers, vairs e amors,
 Les sorciz deugiez ambedous;
 La face blanche, cler le vis,
 Plus que rose ne flor de lis.
 Mout aveit de gente façon
 Le nes, la boche e le menton.
 Le col aveit auques longuel;
 Gent s'afublot de son mantel.
 ...
 Le cuer ot douz e la parole
 E bel semblant e bon corage.
 Onc fille a rei ne fu plus sage,
 Ne plus large ne plus corteise. (5541-56, 5564-67)

The Trojan War along with its brutal end of a glorious city and "nation" has its basis in reckless, destructive love.

The first love story in the Troie, that of Jason and Medea, "prefigures the love stories and betrayals to come, notably the loves of Helen and Briseïda" (Warren 179). Aimé Petit points out that "à l'inconstance masculine (suggérée) de Jason s'opposera l'inconstance féminine, explicite, de Briseïda" (466). Although Petit advocates that Helen is "la cause essentielle de la guerre de Troie" (466), he explains that

Benoît, "donne le récit détaillé d'un exemple antérieur dans lequel une femme—Medea—a considérablement influencé le cours des événements" (466). Medea's passionate love for Jason prompts her to assist him in the procuring of the Golden Fleece, which in due course leads to the first fall of Troy.

The motif of ruin brought on by foolish love in the Roman de Troie relates not only to the behavior of Jason and Medea and of Paris and Helen, but also to that of Achilles. While in the throes of passionate love for Polyxena, he forgets his chief duty toward the Greek "nation" and refuses to fight against the Trojans. Benoît, in the role of instructor of good moral conduct for aristocratic audiences, applies the lesson of Achilles to convey that "private passion undermines public responsibility" (Nolan 47).

One of the classical themes of romance initiated in the roman antique is the opposition between foolish, passionate love and "conjugal" love (Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Reading Myth 51). A model from Rome for the Anglo-Norman and Angevin audience to emulate is the union of Aeneas and Lavinia in the Roman d'Enéas, which represents ideal matrimonial love. The sentiment that Paris and Helen delight in a good marriage is upheld by Helen's moving lament at Paris' funeral:

'En duel, en lermes e en plor,'
Fait el, 'beaus sire amis, morrai,
Quant jo ensi perdu vos ai.
Plus vos amœe que mon cuer;
Ço ne puet estre a nes un fuer
Que j'après vos remaigne en vie.

. . .
 Ja sui jo vostre douce amie,
 Cele que por vos se forsene;
 Cui rien ne conforte n'asene,
 Cele que por vos sent la mort,
 Cele que onc ne vos fist tort
 Ne que ainc jor de vostre vie
 Vers vos ne pensa vilenie,
 Cele que ne desire rien
 N'autre confort ne autre bien
 Ne mais m'ame o la vostre seit.' (22920-25, 22992-23001)

Nevertheless, the tragic consequence of the couple's initial passion is not only the fall of Troy, but also the dismantling of the royal marriage of Helen and Menelaus.

The twelfth-century aristocracy sustained dominion by securing their lineage. Barbara Nolan charges that the overriding issue about which Benoît wished to enlighten his audience was that reckless love destroys families and political order and interferes with political succession (100). An example of foolish love with which Benoît's audience could readily identify is the ardent desire of Medea, the only child and heir of her father, to leave her people and her birthright and follow her beloved Jason. The relationship fails, however, for, unlike Paris, Jason does not keep and honor his lady.

Diomedes, conversely, turns out to be a courtly lover. The tale of the love triangle of Briseida, Troilus, and Diomedes belongs more to the forms of love in the *Troie* that Bezzola names "l'amour naissant" and "l'amour volage," than to a third form, which typifies Achilles' love, "l'amour tragique" (4: 290). Dilemma arises because of the political and

military situation, Militia. Briseida's father, Calchas, a soothsayer in Troy, has been ordered by the gods to join the Greek forces, but when Briseida is requested by her father to abandon Troy in order to live with him, she must also forsake her lover, Troilus, the namesake of Troy. Briseida's plight becomes complicated, because on her way to the Greek camp she meets Diomedes who speaks to her in a courtois manner by offering his services as a courtly lover:

'Bele,' fait-il, 'a dreit se prise
 Qui de vostre amor est saïsiz:
 Le cuer de vos e les periz
 Voudreie avoir par covenant
 Que vostre fusse a mon vivant.
 . . .
 Jos criasse mout grant merci,
 Q'a chevalier e a ami
 Me receüssez tot demaine.' (13532-36, 13541-43)

Diomedes entices Briseida with his persuasive words. Although Benoît considers Briseida a typical fickle female when she abandons Troilus for Diomedes, "Son duel avra tost oblié / E son corage si müé / Que poi le iert de cels de Troie" (13431-33) and "A femme dure duels petit, / A un oil plore, a l'autre rit" (13441-42), he does show how love for Briseida makes Diomedes a better person by courtly standards. As a former ambassador to Priam's court, he was so disdainful and rude that Priam called him a fool, "li musarz [qui] dist sa folie" (6412).

Troilus and Diomedes attempt to distinguish themselves in the eyes of Briseida in the courtly manner. During a skirmish Diomedes unhorses Troilus and has the horse conducted to Briseida as a token of

devotion. Soon Troilus, having been given another horse, expresses the wish to accomplish a feat of chevalerie in honor of his love for Briseida: "Enz en son cuer dit e afiche / Qu'il en fera chevalerie, / Si qu'en orra parler s'amie" (14430-32). Even if chivalric gestures merit fin' amor, it is the wounding of Diomedes by Troilus in a subsequent skirmish that finally prompts Briseida to acknowledge her love for the Greek.

Similar to Hector in the Iliad, Briseida is concerned about her reputation and the possibility that no one will sing good songs about her: "De mei n'ert ja feit bon escrit / Ne chantee bone chançon" (20238-39). Whereas Hector must fight Achilles and surely die physically in order to safeguard his glory for generations to come, Briseida realizes that it is necessary that she die emotionally in order to preserve her good name. She decides to live by loving Diomedes.

Because Briseida is an obedient daughter, she follows her father to the Greek camp. While there she is friendless, without guidance, and prohibited from returning to Troy and her former lover. She allows herself to be captivated by the flattering words of Diomedes and soon gives him her heart while she forsakes her love for Troilus. Because she does not conduct herself in a courtly manner by remaining faithful to Troilus, she dishonors the noblewomen of Troy. Her disloyalty will forever tarnish her position in elegant society. She gathers her thoughts by means of the Ovidian soliloquy, a method of self-expression adopted by Benoît:

Mauvais sen oi e fol, espeir,
 Quant je trichai a mon ami,
 Qui onc vers mei nel deservi.
 Ne l'ai pas fait si com jo dui:
 Mis cuers deüst bien estre en lui
 Si atachez e si fermez
 Qu'autre n'en fust ja escoutez.

...

Lor paroles de mei tendront,
 Les dames que a Troie sont.
 Honte i ai fait as dameiseles,
 Trop lait, e as riches puceles:
 Ma tricherie e mis mesfaiz
 Lor sera mais toz jorz retraiz.
 Peser m'en deit, e si fait el:
 Trop est mis cuers muable e fel.
 Qu'ami aveie le meillor
 Cui mais pucele doint s'amor;
 Ceus qu'il amast deüsse amer
 E ceus hair e eschiver
 Qui porchaçassent son damage. (20242-48, 20257-69)

Briseida laments that her infidelity toward Troilus, the noblest of lovers, reveals a fickle and unrefined heart. Unlike the fashionable women in the *Historia* and the *Brut* who desire to increase the valor of their lovers and indeed to identify with them by wearing their colors, she has cruelly rejected Troilus' needs by allying herself with the enemy. As she continues her soliloquy, Briseida acknowledges that henceforth she will be devoted to Diomedes, because her heart is now linked to his:

Serai donc a cestui leiaus,
 Qui mout est proz e bons vassaus.
 Jo ne puis mais la revertir
 Ne de cestui mei ressortir:
 Trop ai ja en lui mon cuer mis,
 Por c'en ai fait ço que j'en fis. (20277-82)

David Burnley, in *Courtliness and Literature in Medieval England*, contends that courtly love identifies itself as love among courtly people.

The members of this exalted class were defined and united by a sense of nobility that "influenced their ability to feel compassion, charity, and love. The noble heart was the essence . . . and by its nature was drawn to what was perceived as good" (173). The phrase 'courtly love' is often interchanged with the term fin' amor; neither expression, however, has a precise meaning but relies on the circumstances of its application.

In the Troie courtly love, or fin' amor, is a feeling that "flames up" and is kindled by one lover seeing and admiring another. This intense feeling is mutual for Paris and Helen, whose first meeting takes place on the island of Cythera, Venus' birthplace, in "sensual" springtime. Paris, "de grant beauté" (4285) and Helen, "sor autres dames . . . bele" (4320) regard one another and exchange a few words in an ancient temple dedicated to Venus. That brief encounter is adequate for Amor to wound them with his arrows and to incite their passion. Benoît describes the emotional experience:

El veeir e el parlement
 Que el firent assez briefment,
 Navra Amors e lui e li,
 Ainz qu'il se fussent departi.
 En lor aé, en lor enfance,
 En lor forme e en lor semblance
 Les a griefment saisiz Amors:
 Sovent lor fait muër colors. (4355-62)

By means of a letter written by Paris to Helen, Ovid, in his Heroides, gives an example of a heart inflamed by Love's arrow:

. . . quis enim celauerit ignem
 lumine qui semper proditur ipse suo?
 si tamen expectas uocem quique rebus ut addam,

uror: habes animi nuntia uerba mei.

...
non mea sunt summa leuiter destricta sagitta
pectora; descendit uulnus ad ossa meum. (16.7-10, 277-78)

[... who could hide
A fire whose brilliance cannot be denied?
If you insist that I articulate
The matter, ardent would describe my state.

...
Love's arrow did not merely graze my heart
But penetrated to the deepest part.] (55, 64)¹³

The influence of Ovid increases during the twelfth century, perhaps because of the numerous clerics coming out of the great schools of France, where Ovid had become an essential part of the curriculum. The authors of the romans antiques applied the motifs of Ovid, as well as the metaphorical language of Ovid and the troubadours: "... Le cœur de l'amant qui se trouve auprès de l'aimée, l'amoureux pris par l'hameçon d'Amour, les flèches d'or et de plomb du dieu Amour, l'amour conçu comme maladie" (Bezzola 4: 284). The poets also included the following symptoms of love: "l'amant qui change de couleur, qui tremble, qui soupire et qui bâille, les soliloques dialogués des amants" (Bezzola 4: 284). Benoît describes similar symptoms experienced by Achilles while Polyxena remains in sight :

Onques ne remua ses piez
Tant com des ieuz la pot veir:
Ja ne s'en queïst mais moveir
Tant come ele fust en la place.
Sovent mue color sa face:
Sovent l'a pale, et puis vermeille.
A sei meïsmes se merueille

¹³ The English translation of the passage from Ovid's Heroides is from Ovid's Heroines, translated by Daryl Hine.

Que ço puet estre que il sent,
 Qu'ensi freidist e puis resprent.
 Sempres li estreint si le cuer
 Qu'il ne se meüst a nes un fuer
 Tant come il la poüst choisir;
 Del cuer li issent lonc sospir. (17602-14)

Another form of courtly love experienced in the roman antique is an intensity of feeling that leads to overwhelming passion and a lovesickness. Achilles' heart becomes inflamed at the sight of Polyxena's beauty, compelling him to endure the agonizing afflictions of unrequited fin' amor. Benoît relates how Achilles is the model of the ill-starred noble whose heart is caught by Amor's hook, as the exquisite Polyxena comes into view on the anniversary of Hector's death:

La resplendor qu'ist de sa face
 Li met el cors freidor e glace.
 Sis nes, sa boche e sis mentons
 Le resprenent de teus arsons,
 Dont ardra mais dedenz son cors:
 Pinciez sera d'Amors e mors.
 . . .
 Pris est Achillès de son hain,
 Qui de s'amor est aeschiez. (17563-68, 17600-01)

Although Achilles glimpses Polyxena merely by chance, the Ars Amatoria of Ovid counsels the woman to be observed so that her beauty may act like a baited hook:

se quoque det populo mulier speciosa uidendam;
 quem trahat, e multis forsitan unus erit;
 omnibus illa locis maneat studiosa placendi
 et curam tota mente decoris agat.
 casus ubique ualet: semper tibi pendeat hamus;
 quo minime credis gurgite, piscis erit. (3.421-26)

[A beauty too in public must be seen,
 Out of so many, one perchance she'll glean.

Intent to please she'll linger everywhere
 And to her looks devote assiduous care.
 Chance is almighty: keep your hook at work,
 In the least likely pool a fish will lurk.] (139)¹⁴

Benoît describes long, sleepless nights endured by Achilles due to
 the pangs of Love:

Sis tres beaux cors e sa peitrine
 Li font prendre tel descepline
 Que ja n'iert mais ne nuit ne jors
 Ne sente le verjant d'Amors
 Sovent plus de quarante feiz.
 Dès or sera mais si destreiz
 Qu'il ne se savra conseilher,
 Dès or li estovra veillier
 Les longues nuiz senz clore l'ueil. (17569-77)

In his Amores, Ovid questions himself about his own sleepless
 nights brought about by Love's arrows:

Esse quid hoc dicam, quod tam mihi dura uidentur
 strata, neque in lecto pallia nostra sedent,
 et uacuis somno noctem quam longa, peregi,
 lassaue uersati corporis ossa dolent?
 nam, puto, sentirem, si quo temptarer amore—
 an subito et tecta callidus arte nocet?
 sic erit: haeserunt tenues in corde sagittae,
 et possessa ferus pectora uersat Amor. (1.2.1-8)

[What can it be that I should find my bed
 So hard, the blankets slipping, sleep quite fled,
 And through the night, so long, I lie awake,
 Tossing about until my tired bones ache?
 I think I'd know if love were teasing me,
 Or does his damage steal on secretly?
 That's what it is. He's shot his subtle dart;
 Love's in possession, tossing my poor heart.] (4)

¹⁴ The English translation of the passages from Ovid's Ars Amatoria and Amores are from Ovid. The Love Poems, translated by A.D. Miller.

Although Achilles wishes to make Polyxena's affection his goal, he can only lament the trap in which Amor has hopelessly ensnared him. His heart and mind are totally consumed with love for Polyxena, but, as he caused Hector's death, he believes that she wishes him only harm. In a soliloquy he analyzes his situation, desperate because nothing can appease his suffering:

Jo meïsmes me trich e bois,
 Jo me deceif, mien esciënt,
 Quar jo sai bien certainement
 Qu'el me voudreit avoir ocis.
 Trop laidement sui entrepris,
 Qui amer vueil ço que me hait.
 E! Deus, beaus sire, qu'el ne set
 Le cuer de mei e le pensé,
 Com jo l'ai tot vers li torné,
 Com jo m'i doing, com m'i otrei,
 Come est Amors saisiz de mei!
 ...
 Onc mais ne cuit qu'en tel maniere
 Amast nus hom: Jo sui desvez
 E de mon sen si forsenez
 Que jo ne sai que jo me faz.
 S'auques estreint Amors ses laz,
 Bien sai de veir que jo sui mort:
 De nule part nen ai confort. (17660-70, 17684-90)

Ovid's Metamorphoses, a work well-known in the twelfth century, shows the desperate desire of Medea for Jason. In a soliloquy she tries to understand this overpowering emotion:

... "frustra, Medea, repugnas:
 nescio quis deus obstat," ait, "mirumque, nisi hoc est,
 aut aliquid certe simile huic, quod amare vocatur.
 ...
 excute virgineo conceptas pectore flammas,
 si potes, infelix! si possem, sanior essem!
 sed gravat invitam nova vis, aliudque cupido,

mens aliud suadet: video meliora proboque,
deteriora sequor. quid in hospite, regia virgo,
ureris et thalamos alieni concipis orbis?" (1: 11-13, 17-22)

[... In vain, Medea, do you fight. Some god or other is opposing you; I wonder if this is not what is called love, or at least something like this.

...
Come, thrust from your maiden breast these flames that you feel, if you can, unhappy girl. Ah, if I could, I should be more myself. But some strange power holds me down against my will. Desire persuades me one way, reason another. I see the better and approve it, but I follow the worse. Why do you, a royal maiden, burn for a stranger, and think upon marriage with a foreign world?] (1: 343, 345)

In the tragic passion of Achilles for Polyxena, foolish love destroys. Achilles' passion jeopardizes the prospects of Militia when the Greek hero proposes to his chieftains to abandon the siege and orders his men to refrain from combat. Amor has forbidden Achilles to fight, but in time Militia wins, for he returns to combat. After Achilles kills Troilus, Hecuba takes revenge by arranging an appointment with him to discuss marriage plans, at which time Paris ambushes him and kills him. Benoît informs his audience that Love's dangerous scheme of deception only brings anguish and death:

Ne crient peril ne encombrier,
Qu'Amors li fait le sen changier,
Qui home fait sort, cec e mu.
Si l'a surpris e deceü
Que nule rien plus ne desire
Qu'aler al doloros martire
E a sa pesme destinee. (22129-35)

By succumbing to love, Achilles not only dies but also weakens the Greeks' chances for victory. However, it is a great achievement for a

person like Achilles to be able to serve real Amor (Adler 21). Although his life is devoted to battle, he demonstrates that his heart is refined and sensitive, for only the truly courtly are able to love.

The Troie shows a curious blending of chivalry and courtoisie with the depiction of the Amazon women. An exceptional image of the "femme courtoise" appears in the personality of Penthesilea, a heroine toward whom Benoît does not exhibit his characteristic distrust of a beautiful woman's fidelity. While lamenting the nature of women to yield to their passions, "Forz est cele qui se desfent / Que fols corages ne la prent" (13477-78), Benoît exclaims that it is most rare to find a woman with a combination of chastity as well as beauty: "Biautez e chasteez ensemble / Est molt grîés chose, ce me senble: / Soz ciel n'a rien tant coveitee" (13479-81). However, he does observe these traits and other delightful chivalric and courtois qualities in the queen of the female warriors:

En icel terme e en cez anz
Que cist sieges esteit si granz
A Troie, esteit en lor contrée,
La reine Panthesilee.
Proz e hardie e bele e sage,
De grant valor, de grant parage,
Mout ert preisiee e honoree;
De li esteit grant renomee. (23357-64)

Penthesilea is a bold and respected warrior in whom are combined prowess, wisdom, dignity, beauty, and chastity. Evidence of her chastity comes from the fact that only Amazons who remain virgins become

warriors. Penthesilea's chastity is emphasized by the whiteness of her hauberk, "un hauzberc vest Panteselee / Plus blanc que neif de sus gelee:" (23429-30); of her shield, "un fort escu plus blanc que neis" (23452); and of the silk cloth that covers her warhorse, "coverz fu toz d'un drap de seie / Qui plus qui flor de lis blancerie" (23445-46).

Penthesilea symbolizes the qualities of the independent "femme forte" newly introduced in the roman antique. Perhaps in his profile of her and the Amazon women, Benoît was attempting to impart a measure of prudence to his female audience, for virginity was exalted in girls in a twelfth-century aristocratic world eager to preserve the purity and exclusivity of the lineage at all costs. "Chez la fille, ce qui est exalté et ce que cherche précautionneusement à garantir toute une intrication d'interdits, c'est la virginité" (Duby, Mâle Moyen Âge 19).

Penthesilea inflicted great losses on the Greeks, but in the end was killed by Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles. She was Troy's final hope for victory, but after her death, treachery loomed among the Trojans, especially in the guise of the non-chivalric behavior of Antenor and Aeneas. Although these two warriors are judged heroes in the Iliad and the Frankish origin myths, both Dares and Dictys, and subsequently Benoît, show them to be traitors.

After conspiring with Aeneas and his father, Anchises, and his own son, Polydamas, Antenor informs Priam and the council that if Helen, the cause of all their misfortune, is returned to Menelaus, along with the

wealth that was plundered during her abduction, the Greeks will make peace. Priam considers it treason to surrender while the massive walls of Troy remain a strong defense. Although he at last yields to Aeneas and Antenor's plan for peace, only the traitors and their families avoid annihilation. The conspiracy to end the war leads to the capture of the Palladium by the Greeks and to the entrance of the wooden horse inside the walls of Troy; thus a powerful king and a glorious city are brought down by the treachery of a few. Benoît reveals to his audience that the violation by Antenor and Aeneas of a principle of chivalric code, disloyalty to ruler and nation, provokes the collapse of Troy.

Conclusion

The Roman de Troie is not only a story of destruction from which to garner wisdom, but it is also a celebratory work that glorifies the ancestry of the Anglo-Norman and Angevin nobility. It honors the beauty and wealth of Troy, the military prowess of its knights, and the charm and loveliness of its women. The Troie along with the Brut celebrate the personal skills of chivalry and courtoisie as well as the elegance and splendor in the secular world, conditions essential to entertain a twelfth-century aristocratic audience. A code of chivalric behavior and a refinement of manners promote social order and inspire the pleasantness of everyday life.

Because the audiences of Benoît and Wace saw themselves as descendants of the Trojans and of Arthur's court, the continuity of the

past with the present was evident. The aristocrats cherished ancient custom and the unbroken line that ensured eminence and stability. Their "national" being required an ancient heritage whose essence was validated by the claim of a prolonged and prestigious existence. The memory of the prominence and genius of the "new Troy," which was historical Rome and its empire, awakened during the twelfth-century renaissance. The Aeneid, considered a true account of Rome's founding, was known and respected. The Romans, as supposed descendants of the Trojans and ancestors of the Britons, invoked a subsequent model to imitate. Benoît and Wace expected to use nobility's dedication to tradition and history as an approach to instruction.

Remembrance of the past by a people begins during a period of change, which the twelfth century exemplified. A culture begins to tilt toward the future when they attempt to discover the implication and promise of the past. Benoît sought to acquaint the members of the elite with the chivalry and courtoisie of their ancestors in order that they might identify with them and discover in an ancient ethic a means to refine their personal morals and manners. He also endeavored to expose them to various reasons for the fall of Troy, such as pride and misunderstanding, dishonest rhetoric and bad judgment, foolish passion, treachery, and the ways of Fortune, thereby enabling his public to better preserve their own unique "nation."

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

The Trojan myth has been perpetuated by literature. The legacy of an ancient, heroic period endured because of the creative genius of Homer, who set the pattern for Virgil, the author of a sweeping Roman national epic, the Aeneid, which subsequently became a standard medieval textbook. The effect of the Aeneid on the prestige of a Trojan pedigree led to the Trojan-origin myths of the Franks and the Britons, which kept alive the spirit of valiant fighters and the unbroken lineage of immediate aristocratic households with ancient Troy. An age of relative peace along with strong leadership and a resumption of learning favored the creation of the Trojan-origin myths. Because the Franks and the Britons were related by blood to the Romans, the author of each origin myth anticipated the potential for his nation's predominance. An ancient and prestigious ancestry served as proof of legitimate dominion.

The Trojan-origin myth embodied in the Roman de Brut, and its precursor, the Historia Regum Britanniae, formed a genealogical bond between Troy, Rome, and Britain and linked the Anglo-Norman nobility of the twelfth century with a noble race of rulers. By portraying King Arthur along with his extensive territories, Wace and Geoffrey set a precedent for a dominant Britain. As foundation myths, the Brut and the Historia

portray the civilizing role of the first Britons, who, after building cities and towns and introducing culture and peace, rule a resurrected Troy. The Anglo-Norman aristocracy adopted the myth of the culture-building Britons and of King Arthur to celebrate their preeminence.

The Roman de Troie used the tale of Troy to celebrate and master instances of chivalry and courtoisie practiced by the Trojans. Benoît de Sainte-Maure suggests abuses of this courtly behavior that eventually lead to the fall of Troy as a means of educating an aristocratic audience.

With the rise of oral tradition during the Greek Dark Ages, the fall of Troy excited the imagination of bards to create a national legend. "Defeats are more fruitful in national legends than are victories" (Koht 272). Nations are proud of their ancient glory and anxious to maintain the memory of their ancestors (Koht 274). A shared heritage and spirit contribute to a sense of nationalism. The tale of Troy, first imagined in Homer's Iliad, furnished the Greeks with a common cultural tradition which afforded them a national identity. The Trojans were represented as a nation whose dominion was linked to flawless bloodlines.

"Nations" were formed by the integration of cultures and factions. The Franks blended the Gallo-Roman and Frankish cultures into a distinctive "nation." The Britons in Wales were temporarily united under strong, capable leaders in the early ninth and twelfth centuries. The Anglo-Norman aristocrats united a disparate population into a unique "nation" in the twelfth century. Each "nation" had features of both the

Greek and Trojan camps found in the Iliad. Each hoped to perpetuate a common and distinguished heritage with the appropriation of the origin myth. A period of peace and enlightenment assisted the "nation" to seize the opportunity to reflect on its history, at which time origin myths were composed. Each Trojan-origin myth was a learned fiction created to render identity to a "nation" and to bring prestige and power to the ambitious and educated elite. The Roman de Troie furnished an identity of military prowess, service and generosity, wealth, eloquence, refinement of manners, and courtly love to Anglo-Norman-Angevin aristocrats, who believed themselves to be of Trojan descent.

The members of the aristocracy in twelfth-century France and England did not correspond precisely to a solitary definition of the term 'nation'. Because of their practice of chivalry and courtoisie, they constituted a unity, as did the Greeks in the Iliad, and as descendants and emulators of the Trojans, they created an authority whose noble bloodlines dated from ancient times. It was the "nation" of Trojan descendants for whom the Roman de Troie was composed, this "nation" which lived by its own ideology of chivalric and courtois manners.

Troy, with its gallant and noble population, its splendor and humaneness, its celebrated heroes and innate sense of dynasty, influenced myth and literature for over 2,800 years and served as a constant reminder of a splendid past and promising future. By reason of the East-West conflict, Virgil, perhaps with the inspiration of Augustus,

moved "New Troy" westward to Rome, then in the Middle Ages the origin myths and romans continued to move it further west to Paris and London. Troy, a paradigm of human history, experienced the end and beginning of new races and civilizations (Michael Wood 5). Ironically the West looked eastward for a national culture, and adopted the Trojan myth to define it.

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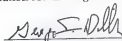
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I, Carol Bubon Kearns, was born in Chicago, Illinois, on February 26, 1941. I lived most of my life in northern Wisconsin before entering the University of Wisconsin-LaCrosse in 1958. Having received a B.S. degree in 1962 in Secondary Education with majors in French and Social Studies, I taught French in the Green Bay Public School System from 1962-1965. I married my husband Tim in 1964, and we had four children between the years 1965 and 1975. The family moved from Green Bay to Tampa, Florida, in 1978. Because we lived near the University of South Florida, I occasionally attended French classes there during the 1980's. After entering the university's master's program in French in 1989, I received an M.A. degree in 1994. That same year I was accepted into the University of Florida's doctoral program in Romance Languages and Literatures. I anticipate receiving my Ph.D. in 2002.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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